THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXXIV.

SESSION 1933–1934

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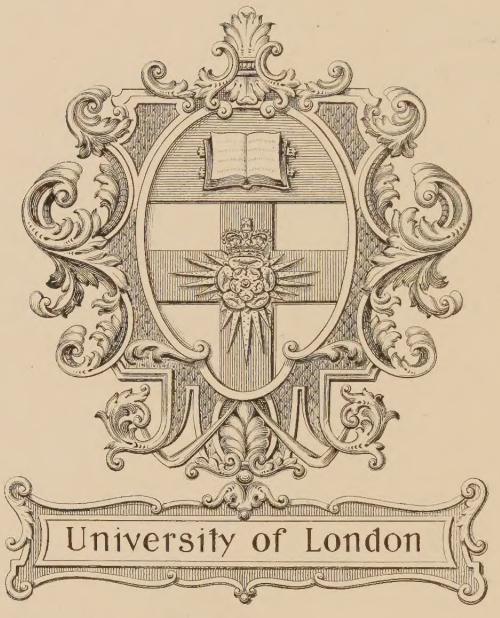

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THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. R. M. Cook. Fikellura Pottery (Plates 1–19) . . .	1
2. E. A. Lane. Lakonian Vase-Painting (Plates 20–49) . .	99
Notice concerning publication of Supplementary Matter . .	190
Index	191

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LIST OF PLATES

Fikellura Pottery.

1. W 6, W 1, B 1.
2. B 2, B 1.
3. B 2, detail.
4. B 16, C 1.
5. J 1.
6. J 1.
7. J 6, J 12.
8. H 1, H 4, K 5, S 8, K 1.
9. K 2.
10. Flautist Dinos, B 7, K 7, K 8.
11. L 1, Vineyard Cup, J 1.
12. Y 12.
13. L 2.
14. F 2, A 1, T 4.
15. G 1, Y 13.
16. R 1, T 6, U 3.
17. T 5, U 1, S 10, P 17, Munich fragment, C 3, S 9.
18. British Museum A 691.
19. Berlin F 3917.

Lakonian Vase-Painting.

20. Late Geometric.
21. Late Geometric.
22. Transitional.
23. Transitional and Lakonian I Orientalising.
24. Transitional and Lakonian I.
25. Lakonian I Orientalising.
26. Lakonian I, II and III.
27. Lakonian I and II.
28. Lakonian I and II.
29. Lakonian II Fruit-Dish.
30. Lakonian II Bowls at Taranto.
31. Lakonian I Orientalising and Lakonian II.
32. Lakonian II and III.
33. Lakonian II and III.
34. Lakonian II and III.
35. Lakonian III.
36. Lakonian III and East-Greek Fragments.

37. Lakonian II and III.
38. Lakonian III.
39. Lakonian III.
40. Lakonian III Kylix at Sparta.
41. Lakonian III and IV.
42. Lakonian III.
43. Lakonian III Hydria in London.
44. Lakonian III.
45. Lakonian IV Pottery and Statuette.
46. Lakonian IV.
47. Lakonian IV Kylix at Taranto.
48. Lakonian IV.
49. Lion Types.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

Fikellura Pottery.

		PAGE
Fig. 1.	J 13 (fragment of amphora in Manchester)	17
Fig. 2.	L 15 (detail of amphora in Karlsruhe)	22
Fig. 3.	N 1, Front View (New York amphora)	27
Fig. 4.	N 1, Side View	28
Fig. 5.	PP 1 (Berezan volute amphora)	34
Fig. 6.	S 12 (oinochoe fragments in Leningrad)	41
Fig. 7.	Shape of Cup, reconstructed	58
Fig. 8.	Types of Dog	63
Fig. 9.	Filling ornaments	70
Fig. 10.	Dividing bands	71
Fig. 11.	Fikellura and ' Rhodian ' Cable Patterns	72
Fig. 12.	Tongue Patterns	74
Fig. 13.	Lotus Flowers and Buds	76
Fig. 14.	L 16, Central Ornament	77
Fig. 15.	Fikellura and ' Rhodian ' Types of Volutes	80
Fig. 16.	Volutes and Volute Complexes	82
Fig. 17.	Types of Handle Ornaments	83
Fig. 18.	Ornaments from Shoulder of Middle ' Rhodian ' Oinochoai	84
Figs. 19, 20.	B 1*a* (oinochoe fragments in New York)	94, 95
Fig. 21.	Boeotian Imitation of Fikellura	96

Lakonian Vase-Painting.

Fig. 1.	Geometric Pyxis	102
Fig. 2.	Late Geometric Shapes	103
Fig. 3.	Late Geometric Patterns	106
Fig. 4.	Late Geometric or Transitional Aryballos	107
Fig. 5.	Transitional Shapes	109
Fig. 6.	Transitional Plates	111
Fig. 7.	Transitional, Lakonian I and II Shapes	113
Fig. 8.	Transitional Coarse Pottery	114

PAGE

Fig. 9. Lakonian Imitations of East-Greek Bird-Bowls . . 115
Fig. 10. Geometric Ring-vase and Orientalising Pyxis . . 120
Fig. 11. Lakonian II (–Lakonian III) Shapes . . . 123
Fig. 12. Lakonian II Patterns 124
Fig. 13. Lakonian II Feeder 125
Fig. 14. Lakonian III and IV Kylix Shapes, Lakonian III Plate and Lakonian IV Bowls 132
Fig. 15. Feet, probably of Fruit-dishes 136
Fig. 16. Early Lakonian III Aryballos at Corneto . . . 138
Fig. 17. Lakonian IV Kylix at Oxford (Hunt Painter) . . 142
Fig. 18. Sphinx from the Louvre Dinos 147
Fig. 19. Lip of Lakonian III Volute-krater at Sparta . . 148
Fig. 20. Black Polychrome Vases 155
Fig. 21. Pomegranate Types 173
Fig. 22. Types of Bud Frieze 173
Fig. 23. Myrtle and Ivy Wreath Patterns 174
Fig. 24. Palmettes 175
Fig. 25. Lotus and Palmette Complexes 176
Fig. 26. ' Naukratite ' Fragment in Berlin 186
Fig. 27. Etruscan Aryballos at Baltimore 189

EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, I

(*B.S.A.* xxxiii 22–65)

Owing to the difficulty of collating the proofs of contributors resident in different countries, a discrepancy between Miss Lorimer's views and my own was obscured. Miss Lorimer regards as Protogeometric those sherds which I regard and have called LH III. Owing to this discrepancy, Miss Lorimer and I have agreed that a non-committal title would be better, and ' Cairns at Aetós ' should therefore be substituted for the title ' LH III—Protogeometric Cairns at Aetós '; also, the words ' a fair amount of LH III and ' should be deleted from p. 28, l. 1, of Miss Lorimer's part of the report.

The following corrections should also be made:—

Page 28, ll. 4–7: *delete the sentence* ' Various small objects . . . cairns themselves.'

„ 28, ll. 38–page 30, l. 2; *for the words* ' which included . . . in form" *read* " which included several sherds of Corinthian Geometric.'

„ 31, ll. 4–5: *for* ' the kind of retaining wall (Fig. 7*b*) already noticed in the case of cairn 1 ' *read* ' a kind of retaining wall.'

„ 31, l. 23: *for* 2·84 *read* 2·34.

„ 45, l. 5: *for* " this cairn " *read* " cairn 2."

„ 45, l. 6: *for* 2 *read* 1.

„ 47, l. 5: *for* 3*a read* 3*b*.

„ 49, Fig. 26: *add to underline* Height of 75, ·214 m.; of 76, ·218 m.

„ 52, note 1, page 63, notes 1 and 5: *for* Loeschke *read* Loeschcke.

„ 52, note 1, l. 2: *for* no *read* not.

„ 63, l. 19: *for* Dikáta *read* Diakáta.

„ 64 note 3: *for* Kyparissés *read* Kyparísses.

W. A. Heurtley.

FIKELLURA POTTERY

(PLATES 1–19)

	PAGE
Introduction	1
Catalogue	3
Misattributions	53
Technique	53
Shapes	54
Animals and Birds	60
Human and Sub-Human Figures	66
Vegetable and Abstract Ornament	69
Volutes	79
Handle Ornaments	82
Distribution	85
Sites and their Evidence for Chronology	86
Origins	90
Addenda	93
List of Provenances	96
Conclusion	98

The following abbreviations are employed:

Boehlau	= J. Boehlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen.*
Kinch	= K. F. Kinch *Vroulia.*
Pfuhl	= E. Pfuhl *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen.*
Prinz	= H. Prinz *Funde aus Naukratis, Klio* Beiheft 7.
Salzmann	= Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros.*
Zervos	= Skevos Zervos *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse.*
Cl. Rh.	= *Clara Rhodos.*
Izv. (Arch. Komm.)	= *Izvestia of the Russian Archaeological Commission.*
Izv. (G.A.I.M.K.)	= *Izvestia of the Russian Academy for the History of Material Culture.*
B.M.	= British Museum.

Numbers of vases in Paris, Munich, Boston, and Cairo, are generally those of the catalogues by Pottier, Sieveking-Hackl, Fairbanks, Edgar, respectively. References to Plates and Figures in this volume are printed in capitals, thus: PLATE 10 *a*.

INTRODUCTION.

The term Fikellura has been retained in this article, as being more neutral than Samian, which has a definite territorial significance.[1] Further, Samian is wanted for the earlier Orientalising wares, presumably of local manufacture, of which much is now coming to light in the excavation of the Heraion in Samos. On the other hand, in speaking of the earlier

[1] So Rumpf, *J.d.I.* 1933, 62 n. 11.

white-ground pottery, I have used the term 'Rhodian,'[1] since it is the least cumbersome of the various unsatisfactory names so far given to that class, and since I do not understand Professor Rumpf's division of it into Camiros and Euphorbos groups.[2]

The only comprehensive study of Fikellura is Professor Boehlau's section in *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen*, published over thirty-five years ago and of necessity based mainly on the internal evidence of the style. Minor corrections and additions were made by Prinz,[3] Pfuhl[4] and Miss E. R. Price[5] and there are numerous casual comments in archaeo-

[1] By 'Rhodian' I mean generically the various local styles and phases, which have been called Rhodian, Milesian, Rhodian-Milesian, Camiran and Wild Goat style. These terms include genuine Rhodian, Samian, Aeolian, and the little-known products of Ephesos and Marseilles. The local styles have rarely been distinguished (*e.g.* E. R. Price *East Greek Pottery* 11). I have kept Aeolian separate; and where I have referred to particular vases, have usually mentioned their provenances. On the whole, since the mass of this 'Rhodian' that is published comes actually from Rhodes, the inverted commas could often be removed: where I have used Rhodian without the inverted commas, I feel sure that the style is the local style of Rhodes.

The development of 'Rhodian' is clearest in Rhodes, thanks to Maiuri and Jacopi and, in a lesser degree, to Biliotti and Salzmann; and I have presumed, without much direct evidence, a parallel development for the other local styles that go to make up 'Rhodian.' Miss E. R. Price has divided this medley into two classes, which she calls A and B. Class A includes all the vases without incision on them: class B is of vases on which incision occurs (*East Greek Pottery* 14–15). This is now misleading. Roughly about 600 B.C., witness *Clara Rhodos*, the dominant Rhodian style changes to a coarser and clumsier style, which sometimes uses incision—notably on the shoulder of oinochoai, dinoi and kraters, while it only very occasionally intrudes on the plates, which are the commonest shape, and not at all on the dishes and amphorae. The change goes much deeper than the simple introduction of incision: it extends to shape, technique and, to some extent, to the motives of decoration (note, for instance, the dividing bands in Fig. 10, and the greater popularity of the dog). The plate, now the commonest shape, is at least rare earlier. The dish becomes smaller and clumsier. The oinochoe gets a long cylindrical neck and a narrow oval body (cf. Kinch figs. 79, 114). The amphora (*e.g. J.d.I.* 1886, 140, fig.) is closely related to the new oinochoe, and contrasts strongly with the stylistically middle Rhodian amphora, Louvre N 2342 (see below pp. 55–56). The bowl and the krater are new. The dinos is rare earlier and perhaps does not change. (The aryballoi, of which there are several at Mykonos and Delos, are perhaps all Cycladic imitations.) The slip often deteriorates to a thin wash; and often there is no slip. The technique of drawing becomes clumsier altogether. The term B is used in this article to cover all the products of the incised period, which continues through the first quarter of the sixth century. Then we lose the thread: for the second quarter there is a lacuna in the evidence of grave-groups and stratification. By the term A is meant all that goes before the period of incision. Possibly much of what I have classed as A overlaps with the B style: for such pieces I have sometimes used the term Late 'Rhodian' A. Middle 'Rhodian' is the phase of the last third of the seventh century, the *floruit* of the familiar wild goat oinochoai. Late 'Rhodian' is equivalent to 'Rhodian' B. In Naucratite incision seems to have swept away almost completely the old style: Naucratite A, therefore, means the unincised, B the incised ware.

[2] *J.d.I.* 1933, 62 n. 11, 69–83. [3] Prinz 39–42. [4] Pfuhl i 155–8.
[5] *East Greek Pottery* 19–21.

logical literature, but it is only in the last few years that the systematic excavations of the Italians in Rhodes and of the Germans in Samos have made possible a more scientific treatment of the subject. Another difficulty was that apart from Boehlau's finds in Samos very few Fikellura vases and fragments had been published.[1] Now one has *Clara Rhodos*, in which the photos of Fikellura are adequate though the drawings are sometimes arbitrary, the *Corpus Vasorum*—unfortunately the relevant sections of the British Museum fascicules are not yet out and will not include the numerous fragments from Naucratis and Tell Defenneh—and Dr. Skevos Zervos's *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodécanèse.*

The class of white-slipped vases, to which the names of Fikellura or Samian have been given, forms on the whole a separate entity. Whereas Clazomenian and the Situlae become incised black-figure styles, Fikellura continues the Orientalising tradition of reservation for inner details. Between the plates, the last survivors of ' Rhodian,' and Fikellura there is an unfortunate gap in our evidence. And after Fikellura there is nothing. The only contemporary group with which Fikellura is in close touch is that of the Ionian cups.[2] The man on the Vineyard cup,[3] as Miss Price and Professor Beazley have observed,[4] is in pure Fikellura style, and is not far removed from the Cambridge men (H 1) and the bearded pigmy on the Rubensohn sherd (K 2).[5] The same workshops must sometimes have made both these wares.[6] But the different requirements of the decoration of large slipped vases and cups of fine clay make the divergencies of the styles greater than their contacts, and it is perhaps better that they should be kept separate.

Catalogue.

A. The Vathy Lion Fragment.
B. Lion Group.
C. Group of British Museum B 117.
D. Tarquinia Group.
E. Amphorae with Scale Pattern.

[1] See the list of illustrations in Pfuhl i 156. The drawings in *Tanis* ii are rarely accurate.

[2] Kunze, *Ionische Kleinmeister*, *A.M.* 1934, 81–122, discusses these cups fully. Dr. Kunze very kindly lent me the proofs of the article, so that I have been able to make references to it. For the relationship of these cups to Fikellura see in particular Kunze 85–86, 92–3, 117–118.

[3] Louvre F 68, from Italy. *C.V.A. Louvre* viii, pl. 510, 3, 5 and p. 61, where bibliography is given. Plate 11 *b*.

[4] Kunze *A.M.* 1934, 101–104, Beil. 8, 1–2; Price in *C.V.A. Oxford* 2, p. 89; Beazley in *J.H.S.* 1932, 169 n. 13,—' pure East Greek—Fikellura style.'

[5] Cf. the faces. The man on the Vineyard cup has a shorter torso than most Fikellura men.

[6] Kunze says not, *A.M.* 1934, 117.

F. Other Amphorae with Animals or Birds on Shoulder.
G. Mykonos Group.
H. Cambridge Group.
J. Altenburg Group.
K. Miscellaneous Human Figures.
L. Running Man Group.
M. Würzburg Group.
N. New York Group.
O. Volute Free Group.
P. Volute Zone Group.
PP. Berezan Volute Amphora.
Q. Amphorae and Oinochoai with Diagonal Decoration.
R. Plain Body Group.
S. Louvre Group.
T. Oinochoai with Zone Decoration, and Animals or Birds on Shoulder.
U. Miscellaneous Oinochoai.
V. Squat Oinochoai.
W. Cups with Ring Foot.
X. Heraion Cup.
Y. Amphoriskoi (and Lekythoi).
Z. Miscellaneous Fragments.

The arrangement in the catalogue is roughly in a chronological sequence of groups. Since on the whole a given type of decoration is confined to a single shape, the amphorae have generally been taken first, then the oinochoai, the cups and the amphoriskoi. The grouping is largely by systems of decoration, since personalities do not show through the careless and undetailed style of much Fikellura work: and some of the groups are makeshift.

A. The Vathy Lion Fragment.

1. Samos, Vathy. Fragment from shoulder of amphora (or oinochoe). The shoulder seems to have been very steep and rounded. Applied purple on occasional tongues, on neck, shoulder, rump, and a vertical band across the middle of the lion. Presumably from a necropolis of Old Samos. Plate 14 *b*.

This fragment is not closely connected with any other Fikellura pieces in the catalogue. The system of reservation on the body of the lion is wholly different from that employed in the Lion Group and its later modifications. But it is very close to that of the lion on a plate found in Nisyros with two Aeolian amphorae.[1] The lion of the Vathy fragment is better

[1] *Cl. Rh.* vi–vii, Nisyros grave xx, pl. 1 (a coloured drawing, but accurate enough for this comparison).

articulated, the use of purple on its body more restrained, filling-ornament less dense, and the lotus flower of good Fikellura type in contrast to the sprawling late ' Rhodian ' version on the Nisyros plate. The purple band across the body of the lion recalls some middle and late ' Rhodian ' goats.[1] The forms of the tongues and of the lotus flower are, however, definitely Fikellura. The Nisyros plate belongs to the first quarter of the sixth century, towards the end; the Vathy fragment, I suppose, to the middle of the second quarter. There is not enough evidence to establish the relation of this fragment to the Lion Group, whether it is an ancestor or a collateral.

B. Lion Group (see also Addenda, p. 93).

B. I. *Fine Ware.*

1. B.M. B 118. Amphora. Missing: neck, most of handles, base. Original ht. roughly ·32 m. Shoulder very round and steep. Neck, traces of a cable pattern. Shoulder, A. panther, boar, lion; B. dog, deer, dog. Belly, crescents: animal zone—four dogs and four hares alternately: crescents. . . . Applied purple on rump, shoulder, belly of animals; on boar, crest instead of belly; on dogs, also on collars; and on about every fifth crescent. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 28, 2–2*a* (poor drawings). Boehlau no. 25. Kunze, *A.M.* 1934, Beil. 6, 1–2. Plates 1 *f*, 2 *b*, *c*.

2. B.M. B 119. Amphora. Missing: handles, foot, other fragments. Original ht. about ·30 m. Shoulder roundish. Neck, triple cable pattern. Shoulder, A. lion, bull, panther, deer—half cut off by end of panel; B. dog, goat, dog. Belly, single cable pattern: dog, hare, hare—three times: crescents: tongues. Applied purple probably as on no. 1. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 28, 1 (a sketch omitting detail). Boehlau no. 24. Plates 2 *a*,[2] 3.

3. B.M. B 102.4 (86.4–1.779, 1924.12–1. 1098 and 1099). Fragments of shoulder, probably of amphora, badly damaged. Shoulder, tongues: of the animal zone is preserved only a panther, much as that on no. 1, from right-hand end of zone: band of dot and billet. Graffito, πρωτ[α]ρχοσμε [ανεθηκε]. From Naucratis. *Naukratis* i pl. 32, 177 (graffito).

4. B.M. 88.2–8.52. Fragments of amphora; the surface very much perished. Original height about ·35 m. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues: animal frieze (goat r., lion l.). Belly, chevrons: clumsy lotus flower and bud, unjoined: two zones of crescents: ? . Fine reservation, but drawing otherwise crude. From Tell Defenneh.

5. ? . Fragment from shoulder. Head of panther. From

[1] *E.g.* in the middle ' Rhodian ' dinos B.M. A 741 (Kinch fig. 73; E. R. Price *J.H.S.* 1924, 195 fig. 22), and in a large ' Ionian ' bowl in Mykonos (*Délos* xvii pl. 52, *Vases ' Naucratites '* no. 3); in late ' Rhodian,' Kinch pl. 15, 1 (krater).

[2] The neck of the dog has now been inserted.

Naucratis. *B.S.A.* v pl. 6, 11. The style of the panther is distinct from that of the panthers on nos. 1 and 2 both in the drawing of the face and the curve of the back.

6. Kassel. Fragments of shoulder, badly worn. Forepart of goat, feet of another animal. From Samos. Boehlau no. 45, pl. 10, 13 (details of goat conjectural).

7. University College, London. Fragment of shoulder. Mr. Payne suggests that the curved line in the right-hand corner may be the tail of a lion held by Artemis, of whom nothing is preserved.[1] The female figure on the sherd will then be a votary. On the belly is the head of a goat. White dots on border of peplos. From Naucratis. For the intermediate bands compare no. 2; possibly by the same hand as that vase. PLATE 10 *c*.

8. B.M. A 1326 (86.4–1.1130). Fragment of belly. Part of two hares. Purple enhancements. From Naucratis.

9. British School, Athens. Fragment of belly. Goat running: crescents. From Naucratis.

10. Cambridge N. 94–6.13. Fragment of shoulder. Deer kneeling, and behind it the tail of another animal. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Cambridge* ii pl. 48, 6.

11. Cairo 26.162. Fragment of shoulder. Hare; volute complex, of form as on Running Man Group. Purple enhancements. From Naucratis. Edgar pl. 3.

B. II. *Coarser Style.*

12. Alexandria 9511. Fragment of shoulder. Goat running right. From Naucratis.

13. Leipzig. Fragment of belly. Goat running right. From Naucratis.

14. Smyrna. Fragment of belly. Two goats running right. From Miletus.

15. Leipzig. Fragment of belly. Goat stepping right, foot of dog (?) moving right. From Naucratis.

16. Corinth CP 872. Olpe. Restored and partly repainted. Three-reeded handle, necking ring. Ht. to top of handle ·278 m. Shoulder frieze—dog, hare, dog, hare, goat, bud on stalk. From Corinth. PLATE 4 *a*, *b*.

17. Odessa? Fragments of lower part, probably of amphora. Simple meander: animal zone: crescents: tongues. There are parts of at least

[1] Otherwise the object in the right-hand corner does not seem explicable. The Πότνια θηρῶν is rare in East Greek vase-painting. For an earlier Artemis holding two lions compare Technau *A.M.* 1929 Beil. 14, 4. A later Artemis carries one lion on the stele from Dorylaion (Körte *A.M.* 1895, pl. 1). On both these also the lion is carried with tail downwards.

five hares, two dogs, a deer and a bird (with raised wing and broad central reservation along wing and body): a plausible restoration gives deer, bird, dog, hare, hare, dog, hare, [dog], hare, hare—three hares together is, I think, too much and a third dog is wanted. Purple is sparingly applied on some of the animals. From Berezan.

There are also two small fragments in Leipzig and one in Cairo (Edgar 26163) from amphorae of this group, from the animal zone on the belly. They are all from Naucratis.

The characteristic scheme of this group is the use of the shoulder for the main frieze, while the belly generally bears a subsidiary animal zone. The whole vase is divided into narrow zones. Crescents are the favourite abstract decoration. Purple is freely used and reservation is fine.

B. I. Unfortunately most of the items in this division are fragments. Nos. 1 and 2, which have been made up, seem to be the earliest. First, the shape of the amphora has not yet settled down into the canonical Fikellura shape—no. 1 is nearer to the oval. Secondly, the hares and dogs of the belly zone are drawn much more finely than those of B. II, which are transitional to the Würzburg type. The repertory of animals is much larger than that of later Fikellura—lion, panther, bull, boar, dog with ears pricked up (in contrast to that with laid-back ears on the conventional belly frieze of the same vases) do not survive. It is on the shoulder frieze that this wider choice of types is found, in naturalistic groups, while the belly has a conventional hunting procession of dogs and hares or goats. It is the scheme of the ' Rhodian ' potters, from the Vlastos oinochoe to the Corinthianising phase of the early sixth century, when it is on the shoulder that the new incised style is exhibited.

No. 4 stands late in the group, if we may judge by its more conventional shape and clumsier style. Nos. 2 and 7 are closely connected by the form of the cable pattern at the base of the shoulder.

All the pieces listed here are from Tell Defenneh or Naucratis, except no. 6, badly worn and doubtfully assignable to this group, which is from Samos. There is, therefore, no external evidence for dating.[1] The lion, however, on no. 1, as Kunze has pointed out, stands very near to the lion of an Ionian Lip Cup from Samos.[2] The Samian lion he dates to about 565. Further the dogs of nos. 1 and 2 are close to the dog in the exergue of another cup fragment[3] from Samos of not much later date. It seems reasonable, therefore, to date nos. 1 and 2 to about 560, and the group from 560 to 550. A later date scarcely leaves time for the evolution of style, and perhaps of shape, to the succeeding groups.

[1] Cf. pp. 86–7 below.
[2] Technau, *A.M.* 1929 Beil. 19, 1; Kunze, *A.M.* 1934, 83 no. 1; 85–6, pl. 6, 1.
[3] Technau, *A.M.* 1929 Beil. 19, 3; Kunze, *A.M.* 1934, 83 no. 2, pl. 6, 2.

The little bitch on the cup fragment in the British Museum (W 6) [1] belongs in style to this group, but for convenience the cup fragments are listed together.

B. II. A clumsier version of the first group. The olpe in Corinth, which is the only complete piece, shows the decline in style and accuracy. The drawing of the dog has been simplified, and is very close to that of the dog in the exergue from Samos. The Berezan fragments, B 17, are certainly by the same hand as the Corinth olpe: the details and positions of dogs and hares, the filling-ornament and the form of the band of blobs correspond as closely as the draughtmanship allows. Here again there is no external evidence by which to date. Perhaps about 550–540.

C. Group of B.M. B 117.

1. B.M. B 117. Amphora. Missing: base, which should be narrower and should taper more. Ht. originally about ·32 m. Neck, B. above cable, a narrow band of chevrons. Shoulder, A. the first bird has wings raised and a spiral plume behind the head; B. three of the birds are of a simpler type with only two vertical strokes to mark the wings. Belly, one deer among the goats: once, where there is not space for a palmette, a big volute is used instead. The buds at the base, though not those on the shoulder, have spikes (see Fig. 13, 9). From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 27, 3 (an inaccurate drawing); reproduced in Boehlau fig. 29, no. 23. Plate 4 *c*.

2. Mykonos 12801. Amphora, small and squat; fragmentary. Ht. ·26 m. Neck, meander and square, above which on A. a band of billets, on B. a small hook meander. Shoulder, A. lotus flowers and buds; B. coarse tongues: six birds each side—type much as the more elaborate birds on no. 1, but without the long reservation up the body. Belly, meander: nine deer grazing to right: eight goats, one on knees, the rest grazing, to right: tongues. Inside neck is painted, upside down, an outline head, possibly wearing an East Greek helmet.[2] From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 51, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 7.

3. B.M. A 1324 (1924.12–1.1051). Fragment from near base of amphora. Much more careful work than no. 1. From Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis).[3] Plate 17 *f* and Fig. 13, 6.

4. Leipzig. Fragment from near base of amphora. Enclosed palmettes: thin lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. From Naucratis.

[1] Plate 1 *a*, *c*.

[2] Dugas, *Délos* xvii p. 71, cites three other instances of such sports—Caeretan hydria, Louvre E 696, Pottier pl. 52; Amphiaraos krater, F.-R. ii pl. 122; Italian lid, Schaal *Frankfurter Vasen* 73. Cf. also the fragment of a Laconian column-krater, p. 150 below.

[3] For the meaning of this provenance, see p. 87, n. 1.

4*a*. Cairo 26150. Fragment from near base of amphora. Enclosed palmettes: crescents: lotus flowers and birds. From Naucratis. Edgar p. 10, fig. in text.

5. Louvre CA 1752. Fragment from belly of small amphora or oinochoe. Procession of partridges—filling-ornament small crosses and rosettes of four dots: enclosed palmettes. Purple on upper part of wing, underside of tail, alternate leaves of palmettes. Fine work. From Apollonia Pontica. *R.A.* 1924, i, 322.

6. Cambridge N 94–6, 15. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Partridges: narrow horizontal band of zigzag. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Cambridge* ii pl. 48, 4.

7. Samos, Vathy. Fragment from belly of amphora or oinochoe. (Part of) largeish partridge (?), moving left.

This is an unsatisfactory grouping. The two complete vases, nos. 1 and 2, are not closely related, and the fragments nos. 4–7 are attributed on the grounds that they would fit into a decorative scheme such as that of no. 1. Narrow zones again form the system of decoration, but the repertory of abstract and vegetable forms is richer. Crescents, the stand-by of the Fikellura artist, are not used. On no. 1 there are six zones with different types of ornament; and on the seventh the painter repeats a lotus pattern but differentiates the form of the bud. The main frieze, of animals, has been transferred to the belly of the vase. On the shoulder are nondescript birds—partridges on no. 6, if it is rightly attributed: they are, however, poor partridges, and the narrow band of zigzag seems more at home in this group than in any other. The animals of no. 1 are clumsy specimens of the Lion Group genus. No. 2 is too fragmentary for much to be made out of it, a small and clumsy vase which in defiance of Fikellura principles overcrowds the space available for decoration. The only parallel is G 1: but there the effect is of compactness, here it is cramped. The outline head painted inside the neck is very rough, of general East Greek type but useless for comparison. Neither no. 1 nor no. 2 are careful pieces, in sharp contrast to the fragments nos. 3 and 5.

All the members of this group come from unstratified excavations. The type of the animals and the variety of the subsidiary decoration suggest a date not much after 550.

D. Tarquinia Group.

1. Tarquinia. Amphora: some restoration. Lip, ivy leaf. Neck, triple cable. Shoulder, tongues: A. sphinxes standing on either side of a

volute and palmette complex (Fig. 16, 2); B. griffin, deer, griffin, dog; filling-ornament dot- and segment-rosettes. Belly, meander and square: double zone of lotus flowers and buds, unjoined and opposed: crescents: lotus flowers and buds: crescents. At base of handle, five rays reversed. From Count Bruschi's collection, so presumably from Italy. Boehlau no. 20 (description incorrect). Complete vase, side B; Moscioni 9081; *Boll. d'Arte*, 1932, 505. Shoulder, from above handle; Mosc. 9082; *Boll. d'Arte*, 1932, 507; Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 9 *b*.

Compare very closely the decorative scheme of the Oxford amphora, E 1—form of volute and palmette complex, stance of sphinxes, rays at base of handle: from the same workshop, but not by the same hand.

2. B.M. 88.2–8.55 and 56, 1924.12–1.1060. Fragments of amphora. Shoulder, *a*, forefeet of sphinx (?) right, tip of horn of goat (?) left; *b*, hind-feet of goat left, forepaw of sphinx (?) right. Belly, open cable, the central dot enclosed in a circle (see Fig. 11, 8): doubled lotus as on no. 1. From Tell Defenneh.

3. Rhodes 13354. Amphora. Ht. ·48 m. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined: A. meander cross; B. bud chain. Belly, open cable: doubled lotus as on no. 1: two zones of crescents, both open to right. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl. Rh.* iv grave lvi, figs. 149, 150. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 417, 1–2.

This group consists of three large amphorae, which have in common the sagging form of the body and the double band of lotus flowers and buds that decorate the middle of it. The doubled lotus band occurs on one other Fikellura vase, the oinochoe S 4: there it is on the neck, and much neater and smaller. The band of meander and square at the angle of the shoulder perhaps relates no. 1 to the earlier amphora, C 1. The animals of the shoulders of nos. 1 and 2 still have the characteristics of the Lion Group type. No. 3 was found in a grave with a Floral Band Cup, which cannot be dated exactly. However, the type of interment of this grave does not begin in the Makri Langoni cemetery before 540. The group may, then, be placed between 540 and 530.

E. Amphorae with Scale Pattern.

1. Oxford G 132.1. Upper part of body of large amphora. Shoulder, tongues: A. sphinxes standing on either side of volute and palmette complex (Fig. 16, 2); B. sphinx, goat, sphinx and one more animal (lost; on analogy of D 1 perhaps a dog). Belly, scales: crescents: inverted rays. . . . Below handle, inverted rays. Purple on occasional tongues, on head, shoulder, wing, belly and rump of sphinxes, on shoulder,

belly and rump of goat, and on alternate leaves of palmettes. Several ancient rivet holes. Again on the analogy of D 1, a fragmentary neck from Naucratis, now in Leipzig, might perhaps be assigned to this vase: it is decorated on the lip with ivy leaf, on the neck with a triple cable. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 4. *B.S.A.* v pl. 7, 2. Prinz no. 13. From the same workshop as D 1, but note the difference in detail.

2. Amsterdam (formerly Hague 4549). Amphora. Ht. ·335 m. Neck, open cable, the central dot enclosed in a circle (Fig. 11, 8). Shoulder, five or six birds each side: filling-ornament T-rosettes (as Fig. 9, 8) and dot-rosettes and lotus flowers. Belly, scales: crescents: tongues. The beaks of the birds are here reserved. Precise work. Said to be from Rhodes (bought in Paris). *C.V.A. Hague* ii pl. 68, 3–4.

3. Samos, German Excavations. Fragments of shoulder and belly, probably of amphora. Shoulder, smallish birds; filling-ornament rosettes of three dots. Belly, scales: crescents. From the Heraion.

4. Kassel S 49 *ab*. Fragment from belly, perhaps of amphora. Scales. Fine work. From Samos.

5. Samos, German Excavations 226 and 238. Fragments from belly of amphora or oinochoe. Scales, the central blob being T-shaped, as on S 1. Fine work. From the Heraion. Technau *A.M.* 1929 Beil. 16, 2–3.

6. Hague. Fragment from belly of amphora or oinochoe. On angle of shoulder, small meander and square: then zone, about ·06 m. deep, of scales: small meander and square. From Asia Minor.

7. Robinson Collection, Baltimore. Amphora. Ht. ·36 m. Neck, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Shoulder, smaller lotus flowers and buds, unjoined: enclosed palmettes. Belly, crescents: scales: narrow band of simple meander: crescents. Handles varnished. *C.V.A. Robinson Collection* i pl. 16, 7.

This is a collection of amphorae and fragments of amphorae with scale-pattern decoration. No. 1, the fragmentary Oxford amphora, is probably from the same workshop as the Tarquinia amphora, D 1, and cannot be much later than 540. No. 2 is earlier. The late incurve of the body to the base, the filling-ornament on the shoulder-frieze, and the type of the birds indicate a date between 550 and 540. The other four pieces belong to the same decade, close to the oinochoai of the Louvre Group: and indeed they may well be fragments of such oinochoai.

F. Other Amphorae with Animals or Birds on Shoulder.

1. B.M. 88.2–8.47, 1924.12–1.1068. Fragments (*a*, *b*) from shoulder of amphora. Crude tongues: *a*, bitch running, ? scut of hare; *b*, back of

sphinx sitting. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 27, 1 (poor drawing of *a*).

Late Lion Group style of animal. Drawing very clumsy. 550–535.

2. B.M. A 1323 (86.4–1.1105). Fragment from shoulder of big amphora. Purple on wing and rump. From Naucratis. Plate 14 *a*.

The coiffure has no parallel in Fikellura, and the piece stands alone. 550–540.

3. B.M. A 1325 (86.4–1.274). Fragment from shoulder of big amphora. Tongues: (parts of) three large partridges processing right. From Naucratis. Early third quarter of sixth century.

4. Odessa? Fragment from shoulder of amphora (?).— : (parts of) three small partridges. From Berezan. Early third quarter of sixth century.

5. Rhodes. Amphora with lid; missing, knob of lid. Squat with lowish rounded shoulder. No lip. Handles, as if ring fixed in lug. Ht. without lid ·186 m. Lid, tongues: pomegranates with cross-shaped end: alternate vertical strokes (as Fig. 10, 6): on rim, tongues. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, seven partridges each side; on one side also a stemmed bud of unusual form. Belly, two zones of crescents: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. On handles, broad chevrons. Purple on occasional pomegranates. The lid is coarsely done, the amphora in fine style. From Marmaro, Ialysos, grave 10. *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, 13 Jan. 1935, supplementary plate.

Found with Attic of middle of sixth century.

G. Mykonos Group.

1. Berlin Inv. 2943. Amphora, more ovoid than usual. Ht. ·30 m. Shoulder, A. seven birds; B. eight. From Siana. *J.d.I.* 1886, 141, fig. in text. Boehlau no. 22. Plate 15 *a*.

2. Mykonos 12796. Fragments of upper part of amphora. Mended in antiquity. Neck, A. meander and square; B. single cable. Shoulder, tongues in compartments: single cable. Belly, myrtle band. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 50, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 4.

3. Mykonos 12800. Fragmentary amphora, very squat. Ht. ·265 m. Neck, single cable. Shoulder, short tongues: six birds each side—silhouette bodies. Belly, three zones of crescents. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 51, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 6.

3*a*. B.M. 1924.12–1.1048. Fragments from shoulder of amphora. Shoulder, crude tongues: at least six birds. Belly, two zones of crescents. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 27, 2–2 *a* (poor drawings).

4. Cambridge N 94–6.16, G 64. Fragment of shoulder of amphora. Silhouette birds; filling-ornament dot-triangles. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Cambridge* ii pl. 48, 8.

5. Mykonos 12798. Fragmentary amphora, very squat. Ht. ·25 m. Decoration much as no. 3; but myrtle wreath instead of birds. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 50, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 3.

6. B.M. 1924. 12–1. 1074, 1075; 1070 and 1078. Fragments of amphora. Ht. about ·25 m. Shoulder, ——: myrtle wreath. Belly, three zones of crescents: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 32, 2 (of upper part).

7. B.M. Fragments from shoulder, similarly decorated. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

8. B.M. Fragment from near base of amphora, decorated with myrtle wreath. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

9. Berlin, Archäologisches Seminar der Universität, D 764. Fragments of amphora. Shoulder, ——: lotus flowers and buds. Body, myrtle wreath: crescents. From Luxor.

10. Mykonos 12795. Fragments of upper part of amphora. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, lotus flowers and buds, joined. Body, crescents. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 50, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 5.

11. Bonn 582. Amphora. Neck, meander and cross. Shoulder, tongues: pomegranates. Belly, open cable: two zones of crescents. From Rhodes.

12. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from angle of shoulder, decorated with hook meander and crescents. From the Heraion.

13. Aegina. Top part of amphora. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues: crescents. Belly, crescents. Purple on occasional tongues and perhaps on alternate crescents. From Aegina.

14. Kassel S 44. Fragmentary oinochoe. Ht. originally about ·28 m. Shoulder, tongues: myrtle wreath. Belly, two zones of crescents: tongues. Traces of purple on tongues and myrtle leaves. From Samos. Boehlau no. 47, pl. 3, 1.

15. Mykonos 12799. Hydria; very fragmentary. Shape of body as of squat amphorae. Ht. about ·26 m. Neck, treble or quadruple cable. Shoulder, tongues: isolated ornaments, of which only one remains—an eight-petalled rosette. Belly, ivy leaves, bordered above and below by bands of dot and billet: crescents: lotus flowers and buds. Purple on occasional tongues, alternate petals of rosette, every fourth or fifth crescent. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 50, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 2.

16. Rhodes. Amphora; roundish body. Ht. ·275 m. Neck, single cable. Shoulder, tongues: six birds each side—silhouette bodies. Belly, three zones of crescents. From Marmaro, Ialysos, grave 5.

There are also various fragments: *a*. Vienna University. From near base of amphora (or oinochoe). Lotus flowers and buds: dot billet. Purple dots at base of buds. From Old Smyrna. *b*. Bonn. From near base of amphora. Lotus flowers and buds. From Aegina. *c*. Sofia.

Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Tongues: lotus flowers and buds. From Apollonia Pontica.

This group is again a loose classification. The common factor is the division of the body into narrow zones of abstract or vegetable ornament; on the shoulder, silhouette birds are often substituted. Myrtle wreaths are frequent, on any part of the body: outside this group they do not seem to occur except on Y 9. The tongues on nos. 1 and 2 are similar to those on the vases from Tell Defenneh in the Altenburg Group. In shape no. 1 seems early; nos. 3, 5 and 11 are very squat, like the amphora from Mykonos, no. 2. No. 14 was found in a grave with Q 10 and a cup which looks early (as Boehlau pl. 8, 21). The hydria, no. 15, is more carefully done than most vases in the group, though none are slapdash. There are no external aids to dating, except for no. 16, which was found with an Attic black glaze cup of the third quarter of the sixth century. No. 1 on grounds of shape and of the tongues may be about 550, the others not much later.

H. Cambridge Group (see also Addenda, p. 95).

1. Cambridge N 94–6.10, 11 and 11*a*. Fragments from belly of amphora. Comast drinking from phiale; two more with oinochoai are dancing round dinos on stand; another riding pickaback. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Cambridge* ii pl. 48, 9, 10 and 7. Plate 8 *a* (pickaback). *B.S.A.* v pl. 6, 12.

2. Oxford 1925.608 *b*. f. 1. Fragment from belly of amphora. Part of two comasts. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 6.

3. Boston 321.14. Fragment from belly of amphora. Part of two comasts, one drinking from phiale. From Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 34. Perhaps from the same vase as either no. 1 or no. 2.

4. Alexandria 9526. Fragment from belly of amphora. Comast. From Naucratis. Perhaps from the same vase as one of the above. Plate 8, *b*.

5. Oxford G 121.10. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Head of comast; the paint has worn badly, and the chin appears much sharper than it was originally. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 6.

6. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Tongues: head of comast to right, deep cup, partly obliterated by the vertical band which flanks the handle. From the Heraion.

7. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Body of comast; filling-ornament four-dot rosette. From the Heraion.

8. Samos, Vathy Museum. Fragments (*a*, *b*) from belly, probably of the same amphora. *a*. open cable: rim of dinos (?); *b*. comast to left;

C. handle volutes (?) (Fig. 16, 1). Purple on loin-cloth of comast, on some pothooks of cable, on occasional leaves of palmettes. From 'archaic necropolis' at Tigani.

This group is represented only by small fragments, so that it is not possible to reconstruct definitely the decorative scheme or schemes employed. Some fragments show a figure zone on the belly, others on the shoulder: but it is unlikely that any vase would have two similar zones of comasts on shoulder and belly. Possibly a conventional hunting scene acted as subsidiary figure zone, or the processions of partridges. Alone these zones of comasts would not have been sufficient. It is best to imagine a scheme similar to that of the Lion Group or of the Group of B.M. B 117. Filling-ornament is comparatively dense, though not of great variety.

The human type is rudimentary. Reservation is sparse and hasty. In structure the Cambridge Group comasts are nearest to the Altenburgers. The fragment in Cambridge, no. 1, is remarkable for the incident of the pickaback. The object beneath the chin of the rider is probably his colleague's head, very carelessly drawn. The oinochoe fragment in Smyrna, S 8, is a useful link with the oinochoai of the Louvre Group. The Smyrna figure seems to be of the Cambridge type, in spite of the chiton and the projecting left shoulder. The figures of K 4 belong on the whole to this same type.

No. 8 is probably from a vase decorated in much the same way as the amphorae of J, Division II. The handle volutes are unusually complex.

We rely once more on the internal evidence for dating, and owing to the small size of the fragments, there is no help to be got from subsidiary decoration. The elementary style of the drawing might be due to carelessness; so might the rendering of the necks of the oinochoai on no. 1, in contrast to the wider-necked type shown on the Altenburg amphora. But it seems better to place this group slightly earlier, about the middle of the century.

J. Altenburg Group.

Division I. With comos scenes.

1. Altenburg 191. Amphora. Ht. ·32 m. Purple on loin-cloths and band above ear. Incision modern.[1] Boehlau no. 19, figs. 26, 27 and 28; Buschor *Greek Vase-Painting* fig. 63; Pfuhl fig. 132; etc. Plates 5, 6, 11 *c*.

2. B.M. A 1327 (86.4–1.1149). Fragment from belly of amphora. Leg of tripod, bud on stalk, leg and hand of comast going right: crescents. From Naucratis.

[1] See Rumpf *Gnomon* i 326. Dr. Ackermann tells me that the provenance is Aegina.

3. Cambridge N 94–6.14. Fragment from belly of amphora. Feet and shins of comasts: crescents. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Cambridge* ii pl. 48, 11.

4. ? . Fragments from just below shoulder of amphora. Comasts. In front of one is a large kantharos. The style is that of the Altenburg amphora; but the proportions are stiffer and less accurate, and the chin, which is deep and rounded, projects suddenly forwards and downwards from the jaw. Perhaps purple on the loin-cloths. From Berezan.

5. Oxford 1925.608 *b*. Fragment from belly of amphora. Rump of comast. From Naucratis.

Division II. With comast between volutes.

6. B.M. B 120. Fragmentary body of amphora. Ht., as made up, ·205 m. On B. a similar comast, moving left and looking back. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 28, 3–3 *b*. Boehlau no. 14. PLATE 7 *a*.

7. B.M. 88.2–8.51. Fragments of body of similar amphora. Ht. to necking ring ·21 m. Instead of ivy leaf an open cable. Otherwise as no. 6. From Tell Defenneh.

8. B.M. 1924. 12–1.1103. Fragment from belly of amphora. Forepart of comast and part of volute, as nos. 6 and 7. From Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis).

9. Odessa? Fragments of belly of amphora. Shoulder, ——, chevrons. Belly, comast between volutes, on each side: tongues: lotus flowers and buds, joined. One of the comasts has both arms raised and head turned back. Purple on loin-cloths, occasional leaves of palmettes and bars of volutes. From Berezan.

10. ? . Amphora. Neck, triple cable. Shoulder, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined; meander cross. Belly, a pair of comasts between volutes: crescents: lotus flowers and buds, joined. Apparently one of the two bands that form the meander is purple. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 28, 4–4 *a*.[1]

Division III. With birds and animals between volutes.

11. Mykonos 12794. Fragmentary amphora. Ht. ·27 m. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, lotus flowers and buds, joined: simple meander. Belly, A. bird, between handle volutes; a bud, inverted, as filling-ornament. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 51, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 8.

12. B.M. A 1313 (61.4–25.47). Amphora. Ht. ·29 m. Same both

[1] I have been unable to find this vase, and rely on the drawing in *Tanis* ii.

sides. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 13, fig. 25. Herford *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting* pl. 5 *c*. PLATE 7 *b*.

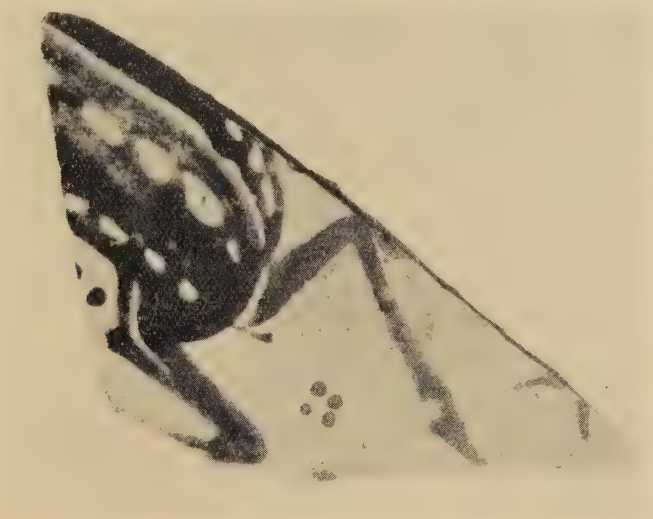

FIG. 1.—J 13 (SCALE 1 : 1).

13. Manchester 6252 *c* (II.D.9). Fragment from belly of amphora. From Naucratis. Webster *Greek Vases in the Manchester Museum* pl. 1, 3. FIG. 1.

Division I. The fragments nos. 2, 3 and 5 seem to belong to vases of the same type, that is, with a comos scene which fills a very broad zone on the upper part of the body and reaching over on to the shoulder. No. 4 may be an early work of the Altenburg painter.

Division II. Nos. 6–8 are very fragmentary amphorae from Tell Defenneh. The scheme of all is the same; there is some variation in the ornaments of the subsidiary zones, but the main zone, in depth similar to that of the Altenburg amphora, is uniformly decorated with a man dancing between volutes springing from the base of the handle. The position of the comasts is the same on each, except that once the head is turned back. Reservation is rather coarse and slipshod. Sometimes the ear is a complete circle, sometimes not. These three vases are by the same hand, and by the same hand as the Altenburg vase, as a comparison of the figures will show.[1]

[1] The same holds true for the Berezan fragments, no. 9, which also provide another example of a comast with head turned back. No. 10, if the drawing is to be believed, is in its subsidiary decoration conveniently close to the Altenburg vase and also connects with this group K 4.

Division III. Nos. 11–13 are decorated in a scheme similar to the Tell Defenneh amphorae, but birds and animals replace the dancers. It is probable that they come from the same workshop.

This is perhaps the first Fikellura group in which the decorative emphasis falls wholly on the frieze of the belly and the shoulder is neglected. In the later phase of Fikellura this became the general rule. Filling-ornament in the form of rosettes of four dots occurs on the Altenburg vase, but on one side only and only one rosette to each comast. On the vases with bird and animal decoration it is more varied and frequent and heavier.

External evidence is again lacking for the chronology of these vases. The form of the comasts seems early, earlier at least than the Rubensohn and Samos comasts. I would date the group to 550–540, the partridge vase, no. 12, towards the end of the decade.

K. Miscellaneous Human Figures.

1. Leningrad, Inv. no. 15848. Fragment from shoulder of amphora: the base of the handle can be seen on the right. Purple on wing of partridge and on hair of satyr. From Berezan. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* 146. Plate 8 *e*.

The arrangement of the zones is similar to that of the Rubensohn fragments, no 2. The breadth of the band of varnish bordering the frieze by the handle is unusual. The thick-set satyr has no relation to the Samos satyr, no. 6, and stands alone. About the middle of the sixth century.

2. Prof. Rubensohn, Berlin. Fragments from shoulder of amphora. Purple enhancements. Said to be from Cyprus, but bought in Egypt. Berlin Mus. phot. no. 2077. Plate 9.

The rosettes and the contour of the chins recall the oinochoe in the British Museum T 4, but here the reservation is finer. The pigmies do not seem to be deformed.[1] Probably there was an animal zone round the belly. Early second half of sixth century.

3. Samos, German Excavations K 1026. Fragments from body of big amphora. Double enclosed palmettes, the upper row inverted: comasts, one bearded, another playing the flute, dinos on wrought-iron stand,[2] part of a house or altar of squared stone or brick.[3] Occasional purple enhancements. The flautist has reserved fingers. From the Heraion. German Institute in Athens, photograph no. 1829.

[1] Note especially the bearded pigmy. See Beazley *B.S.R.* 1929, 2, and cf. the Northampton amphora and the François vase.

[2] Cf. possibly the dinos stand on a late Geometric vase from Athens (*A.M.* 1892, 209 pl. 10). I am indebted to Professor Webster for this suggestion.

[3] Cf. perhaps the cubes up which the Naucratite partridge is stepping (*J.H.S.* 1924, 213 fig. 51).

The central ornaments in the palmette band are unique. Early second half of sixth century.

4. ? . Fragment from belly of amphora. Two comasts, handle volutes of Altenburg type, tilted to allow room for a leg. The comasts wear narrow bands across the chest and loin-cloths, that of the hinder comast ending in a long point between his legs: the heads are missing. Filling-ornament a T-rosette. Purple on occasional leaves of palmettes, on bands and loin-cloths. From Olbia. *Izv.* (*Arch. Komm.*) 33, 119 fig. 25.

Not enough remains to determine whether the vase was of free-field style or divided into zones as in the Altenburg Group. The legs and bodies of the comasts most resemble those of the Samos fragments, no. 3, where, furthermore, the loin-cloth of the bearded man also comes to a point. Early second half of the sixth century, close to the Altenburg Group, if not of it.

5. Boston 321.15. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. The hand is probably holding castanets. Purple spots on buds as on the oinochoe fragment T 6 (Plate 16 *b*). From Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 34. Plate 8 *c*.

Early second half of sixth century.

6. Samos, German Excavations K 1027. Fragment from shoulder of flat-shouldered amphora. Lotus flower and bud: head of satyr. Purple on central petal of lotus flower, ? on bud, on front hair and moustache of satyr. From the Heraion.

This is an excellently executed head, but the brutalising of the features makes impossible a comparison with fully human heads. It is far removed from the primitive Berezan satyr, no. 1. Middle of third quarter of sixth century.

7. Oxford G 121.5. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. The lotus flower has five petals (Fig. 13, 6). Busiris is double-chinned. From Naucratis. *J.H.S.* 1905 pl. 6, 1; Buschor *Greek Vase-Painting* fig. 60; E. R. Price *J.H.S.* 1924, 185 fig. 5; *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 8. Plate 10 *d*.

Middle third quarter of sixth century. Herr E. Kukahn suggests that 'Busiris' may be wearing a serpent helmet.

8. Alexandria 9323. Fragment from shoulder and upper part of belly of amphora. Purple on hem of sleeve and white dot-rosettes. It is difficult to complete the motive behind; it is probably a variety of handle ornament. From Naucratis. Plate 10 *e*.

Probably from an amphora decorated in the scheme of the Running Man Group (L). End of third quarter of sixth century.

9. ? Leningrad. Fragment from shoulder and upper part of belly of amphora. Winged dog-headed man, drawing sword and surmounting volute and palmette complex. From Berezan. *A.A.* 1929, 250 fig. 13.

A unique fragment. The vase was presumably decorated in free field style. The volutes spring from the handle: one of the ends running up to

the base of the handle can be seen. The triangle below the handle was filled with rows of inverted rays. The centre of each side was occupied probably by a single figure or a small group. The inner markings and the form of the wing suggest a late date in the Fikellura figure style. About 540–525.

10. Oxford G. 120.33. Fragment from shoulder angle of amphora. Shoulder, ——: buds. Belly, occiput and krobylos; filling-ornament dot- and segment-rosettes. The scale is considerably larger than that of any other extant Fikellura figure. Purple on occasional buds. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 395, 53. Rumpf *J.d.I.* 1933, 62 n. 11—grouped without explanation with two much earlier pieces in Splittergruppe 3.

The scheme is that of the Altenburg Group. Early third quarter of sixth century.

L. Running Man Group.

Division I.

1. B.M. A 1311. Amphora, flat-shouldered. Ht. ·34 m. Neck, triple cable. Shoulder, debased pomegranate, as on all vases of *Division I.* Belly, on each side a man running, the one on the back rather weedy; handle ornaments. From Camiros. A. Buschor, *Greek Vase-Painting* fig. 62; Ed. Schmidt, *Knielauf* (*Münchener Arch. Stud.*) 300 fig. 24; Schaal, *Bilderhefte* iii pl. 7, 13. Handle ornament, *Burlington Magazine* Aug. 1925, 69; Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 21 *a*. Boehlau no. 10. Plate 11 *a* (detail of man on A).

2. Graf Lanckoronski, Vienna. Amphora, flat-shouldered. Ht. ·32 m. Both sides similar. From Rhodes. Pfuhl 158. Plate 13. Fig. 17, 2 (handle ornament).

3. Louvre A 330. Amphora, flat-shouldered. Ht. ·43 m. Neck, meander cross. Belly, hare-headed man between handle volutes as on Altenburg Group; under handles outline palmette much as that of Fig. 16, 2. From Rhodes. Salzmann pl. 38; Longperier *Mus. Nap.* pl. 59; Zervos fig. 383 (all three in colour) and fig. 110; Perrot and Chipiez ix fig. 216. *C.V.A. Louvre* i pl. 18, 11. Boehlau no. 11.

4. B.M. A 1312 (67.5–8.859). Amphora, flat-shouldered. Ht. ·33 m. Neck, meander cross. Belly, hare. From Blacas Collection. Schaal *Bilderhefte* iii pl. 7, 12. Boehlau no. 6.

5. Rhodes 10539. Amphora, flat-shouldered. Ht. ·33 m. Decoration as in no. 4. The handle ornament on one side omits one side lozenge. From Ialysos. *Cl.Rh.* iii grave clxxi figs. 163 (handle ornament), 164.

5*a*. Birmingham University. Amphora, flat-shouldered. The neck is too wide at the top, and to attach the handles normally the sides had to be compressed: the lip is therefore elliptical and there are deep dents where the

handles join. Ht. ·305 m. Neck, meander cross. Belly, hare. The filling below the handle ornament is a large lozenge decorated with chevrons (see FIG. 17, 4). Probably from Rhodes.[1] Very careless work.

6. Amsterdam (formerly Hague 1886). Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·325 m. Neck, eyes. Belly, swan with outstretched wings. From Egypt. *C.V.A. Hague* i pl. 7, 4.

7. Berlin Inv. 2975. Fragmentary amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·28 m. Neck, A. lotus flowers and buds, unjoined; B. double cable. Belly, A. swan with raised wing, down the centre of which runs a reserved band filled with a row of dots; B. goat. The filling at the bottom of the handle ornament is a lozenge. The animals are much damaged. The vase has, I think, a thin slip.[2] From Siana. *J.d.I.* 1886, 141—description and drawing of handle ornament = Jacobsthal *Orn.* 164. Boehlau no. 9.

8. Louvre A 328. Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·295 m. Neck, A. meander and square; B. open cable, as in FIG. 11, 8. Belly, swan. From Camiros. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* pl. 13; Perrot and Chipiez ix fig. 220; Morin-Jean *Dessin des Animaux* fig. 163; Zervos fig. 101; *C.V.A. Louvre* 1 pl. 18, 9. Boehlau no. 8.

9. Copenhagen 5175. Amphora. Ht. ·294 m. Neck, A. meander and square; B. lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Belly, A. dog of Würzburg type; B. hare. From Fikellura. *C.V.A. Copenhagen* ii pl. 79, 3.

Division II.

10. Rhodes 13481. Amphora. Ht. ·31 m. Neck, A. meander and square, separate members; B. meander cross. Shoulder, chain of buds, as on all remaining vases of this group. Belly, swan: the wing of the bird on B. is jagged. From Visicia, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave ccxxvi fig. 433; *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 419, 2.

11. Rhodes 13235. Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·31 m. Neck, double cable. Belly, A. dog of Würzburg type; B. hare. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxxix fig. 206.

12. Rhodes 12344. Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·285 m. Decoration as no. 11. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cix figs. 234, 247; *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 419, 1.

13. Brussels 2800. Amphora. Decoration of A. as no. 11. From Camiros (?). Zervos fig. 269.

[1] Birmingham University has a number of pieces of which it is not recorded whether they came from Cyprus or from Biliotti's sale. It seems, however, a reasonable assumption that the Cypriot is from Cyprus and the East Greek from Rhodes, and I have given Rhodes as the probable provenance of the four vases mentioned here (L 5*a*, M 3*a*, K 5*a* and the oinochoe cited on p. 57, n. 2).

[2] *J.d.I.* 1886, 141—'entbehrt des Ueberzugs, ist jedoch geglattet'—is, I think, mistaken.

14. Oxford 1885/617. Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·30 m. Neck, meander and square. Belly, on each side a dog of Würzburg type. From Camiros. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 1 (frontal) and 2 (of handle ornament). Probably Boehlau no. 5.

15. Karlsruhe 28. Amphora. Ht. ·31 m. Neck, A. simple meander; B. meander and square. Belly, A. dog of Würzburg type; B. two small birds. From Siana. Welter *Bausteine zur Archäologie* i pl. 2, 5*a* (of A.) and 5 (of handle ornament). Boehlau no. 7. Fig. 2 (detail of birds).

16. B.M. A 1310 (67.5–6.46). Amphora; rounded shoulder. Ht. ·41 m. Neck, eyes and nose. Belly, handle volutes of Altenburg Group

Fig. 2.—L 15.

type; A. between volutes big lotus flower with palmette filling (Fig. 14), and, above, dog catching hare; B. lotus flowers springing from volutes, and, between, rosettes and small bird. Purple on flank and belly of dog, and perhaps on some of the leaves of the palmette. The outer reeds of the handle are varnished and the inner reserved. Unfortunately the dog is damaged; it seems to have had the white neck of the Würzburg breed, but also purple enhancements and no belly stripe. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 4, figs. 22–24 (excellent drawings).

Division III.

17. Rhodes 12237. Amphora. Ht. ·31 m. Neck, double cable. Belly, on each side deer between handle ornament of type B (see Fig. 17, 5): crescents. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave xl figs. 124, 125; *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 419, 3–4 (4 of handle ornament).

18. Rhodes 13528. Amphora. Ht. ·33 m. Decoration as last, except that goats replace the deer and that the handle ornament has no lozenges at the side. From Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv fig. 442 (a bad drawing; in particular, the head of the goat is not reserved, nor does the reservation of the shoulder join with that of the belly).

Division IV.

19. Boston 299. Amphora. Ht. ·302 m. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues: chevrons. Belly, A. dog of type much as M3—the neck, however, is not reserved and the ear sticks up; B. deer; between volutes of simple type (see FIG. 16, 5): crescents. From Rhodes. Fairbanks pl. 29 (A.).

20. Florence. Neck, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Rest of decoration as in no. 19.

Divisions I and II. Here the body of the vase is not divided into zones but left free. Below each handle is the familiar handle ornament. The varieties are drawn out in FIG. 18. Type A, in which the upper member projects over the lower, is more frequent: it is usually filled below with a palmette and at the sides with lozenges. In the centre of each side is painted, with little attention to detail, a single figure, except on nos. 15 and 16; usually the figures on each side are similar. At the top of the shoulder there is a chain of debased pomegranates (I) or buds (II). The volutes on nos. 3 and 16 are similar to those of the Tell Defenneh amphorae of the Altenburg Group. The Dionysos amphoriskos (Y 12) and Y 12*a* are connected in their scheme. The handle ornaments are similar, though the palmette has grown. But to suit the requirements of the narrow shape of the amphoriskos a narrow band has been drawn round the body a little below the figures.

The first six amphorae are certainly the work of one hand. Nos. 1 and 2 correspond in the subsidiary decoration and in the spacing of the decoration. The positions of the figures do not allow much similarity: most noticeable are the angles of the instep of the back foot and the articulation of neck and occiput. No. 3 has a torso and instep like those of no. 1, while the forms of the arse and thigh are those of no. 2. The heads of the hares of nos. 4, 5 and 5*a* resemble the head of the monster of no. 3, particularly in showing two ears, which other Fikellura hares do not do. On these six vases the figures are vigorously executed, without regard for accuracy; for example, on no. 4 the springy long hind-leg and the rudimentary fore-leg. The spirit of these figures is the same. The strokes on the lip are often widely and erratically placed. Nor can it be accidental that the debased pomegranate chain occurs only on these vases with free-field decoration. Nos. 6 and 16 may also be included.

The other vases in this group are tamer imitations, but probably come from the same workshop.

Division III. These two vases are late members of the group, when the style had lost its original inspiration. The handle ornaments are out of place when confined below by a zone of crescents.

Division IV. The connection of this Division with the preceding ones is probable, there being at this period no other group with animal decoration to which it might belong.

For the earlier phase there are no satisfactory grave groups. No. 10 was found with a cup of early Red-figure period; no. 11 with a black glaze cup of the late third quarter of the century; no. 12 with vases of the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries; no. 17 in a group roughly contemporary with those of nos. 10 and 11. If the Würzburg Group has been rightly dated, then, on the analogy of the dogs, nos. 9, 11–14 and 19 belong to the end of the third quarter of the sixth century, while no. 16 should be rather earlier, about 540. Nos. 1–6 are still earlier, about 550–540. Possibly the free-field system of decoration was borrowed from Cyprus.

Only no. 6 is known to have been found outside Rhodes, in Egypt. The presumption for Rhodian manufacture is therefore strong, as in the case of the Würzburg Group, with which this is connected.

Professor Beazley suggests that the man on no. 1 is a sprinter, and based on Attic sprinters like those of the Panathenaic amphora in Halle[1]; and that no. 3 might represent a companion of Odysseus.[2]

M. Würzburg Group.

Division I.

1. Cambridge G 42. Amphora. Ht. ·29 m. Neck, A. meander and square; B. double cable. Shoulder, tongues: A. dog, hare, bird; B. dog and hare; filling-ornament dot- and T-rosettes. Belly, chevrons: reserved zone: crescents: short tongues. From Rhodes. *C.V.A. Cambridge* i pl. 7, 1 (of B.) Gardner pl. 5 (of A.). Fig. 8, 3–4 (dogs).

2. Copenhagen 5608. Amphora. Ht. ·302 m. Neck, A. double cable; B. lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Shoulder frieze, dog and hare; filling-ornament dot-rosettes and lotus flower on stalk. Belly, open cable. Otherwise as no. 1. From Camiros. *C.V.A. Copenhagen* ii pl. 79, 4.

3. Louvre A 329. Amphora. Ht. ·325 m. Neck, double cable.

[1] The linea alba, the penis (set much too high) and the rudimentary beard line would then be misunderstandings or else simplifications of Attic. The Halle amphora is published by Langlotz *Zeitbestimmung* pl. 1, 1. This is the best explanation of the figure. It has also been suggested that the figure might be a pigmy and the vase a companion piece to some such vase as no. 6. But there is nothing by which to identify the figure as a pigmy: the thickness of the thigh and other apparent distortions are characteristics of this painter's work.

[2] Cf. two Attic B.F. cups of about 560 in Boston (the first, *A.J.A.* 1913, 2 fig. 1 and 1923, 427 fig. 2; Buschor *Greek Vase-Painting* 100 fig. 92: the second, *A.J.A.* 1923, 426 fig. 1). Etruscan B.F. amphora, Louvre E. 723, with lion-headed man (*Mus. Nap.* III pl. 59; Perrot and Chipiez ix fig. 217; A. B. Cook *J.H.S.* 1894, 117 fig. 12; Zervos fig. 46). On gems in the British Museum are a panther-headed man (Furtwängler pl. 8, 13), a fox-headed and a donkey-headed man. I have found no other examples of hare-heads.

No filling-ornament. Otherwise as no. 2. From Camiros. *C.V.A. Louvre* i pl. 18, 7 (handle wrongly called two-reeded). Zervos fig. 391. Salzmann pl. 48.

3*a*. Birmingham University. Amphora; much damaged and some pieces missing. Ht. ·285 m. Shoulder frieze, A. dog and deer; B. dog, goat, rump of a second goat. Otherwise as no. 3. Probably from Rhodes.

4. ? : once in Paris market. Amphora. Ht. ·32 m. Neck, open cable. Shoulder, A. dog and hare; filling-ornament dot-rosettes. Rest as usual.

Division II.

5. Würzburg 130. Amphora. Ht. ·32 m. Shoulder frieze, on either side, four birds; filling-ornament dot-triangles. Rest as usual. From Rhodes. Langlotz pl. 15.

6. Rhodes 13692. Amphora. Ht. ·31 m. Neck, open cable, closed with V-shaped strokes (see Fig. 11, 9). Otherwise as no. 5. From Papatislures, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* vi–vii Papatislures grave v figs. 21, 24.

7. Rhodes 12936. Amphora. Ht. ·295 m. Neck, A. double cable; B. meander and square. Shoulder, birds less careful and a fifth emerging from under the handle. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxv figs. 181, 182. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 421, 1 (in text, 2).

8. Rhodes 12197. Amphora. Ht. ·29 m. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, seven birds each side, walking left, in full silhouette except for middle bird on A. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave x figs. 48, 49. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 482, 1.

Division III.

9. Rhodes 13330. Amphora. Ht. ·305 m. Instead of reserved zone another zone of crescents. Otherwise as no. 5. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave xcvi fig. 210. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i, pl. 421, 2 (in text, 1).

10. Rhodes 14323. Amphora, made up from damaged fragments. Roundish body. Ht. about ·27 m. Neck, triple cable. Shoulder, tongues: A. dog, deer, dog, deer (half cut off by the end of the frieze); B. dog and three goats (the right-hand goat similarly cut off); filling-ornament small rosettes of four dots. Belly, three ordinary zones of crescents. From Nisyros. *Cl.Rh.* vi–vii grave xix fig. 32 (drawing).[1]

A fragment in Cambridge (N 94–6.12, G 65), from Naucratis, *C.V.A.*

[1] Dr. Laurenzi kindly had the vase dismantled. The illustration is, of course, mainly wrong. Actually the shape is rounder than usual. The drawing of the animals is fair. The S-shaped crescents resulted from a wrong join, which also distorted the shape. The animals look earlier than I had supposed, and perhaps belong rather to Group B II.

Cambridge 2 pl. 48, 5, comes from an amphora of the first division of this group.

In this group the animal frieze on the shoulder appears for the last time. The repertory is small,—dogs chasing hares, goats or deer; or else a procession of conventional birds. The dog and hare are simplifications of the late Lion Group type, as exemplified in the Corinth olpe (B 16): reservation on the rump of the dog is found in a clumsy form on nos. 3 and 3*a*, but generally is confined to the belly stripe and—an innovation—the neck. No. 1 has on A. a dog with a head nearer the Lion Group type, on B. the type usual in this group (see Fig. 8, 3–4). Dogs of this new Würzburg breed are found on vases of the late Running Man Group. Filling ornament survives on some of the vases of this group; it is very sparsely used.

The decorative system is simple. On the neck a double cable pattern is most frequent, but there is the usual latitude. On the shoulder first a band of tongues, then the animal or bird frieze. On the belly a band of open cable pattern (except on no. 1), a reserved zone and a zone of crescents. On no. 9 the reserved zone is filled with crescents. No. 10 would seem to belong here, judging by the type of dog. Possibly nos. 9 and 10 may be earlier and represent the transition stage from the earlier groups with animal zones; but stylistically no. 1 would appear the earliest. In shape and size these vases, which are all amphorae, correspond closely.

Certainly by the same hand are nos. 1 and 2; nos. 3 and 3*a*; nos. 5, 6 and 9. The whole group should come at least from the same workshop. Except for no. 4, the doubtful no. 10 which is from the neighbouring island of Nisyros and the fragment from Naucratis, all are known to have been found in Rhodes, and, where the exact details are available, at Camiros. And it is probable that no. 4 also was found in Rhodes. It is difficult to doubt that this group was made in Rhodes.

Nos. 7 and 8 are from graves whose contents suggest a date between 540 and 520. Nos. 6 and 9 (when the two interments are separated out) [1] about the middle of the second half of the sixth century. I do not think that the group can have extended over more than a few years and I would date it to about 535–525.

N. New York Group.

1. New York 23.160.35. Amphora; rounded body, as is regular in this group. Ht. ·297 m. Rosettes on shoulder as Fig. 9, 16. On B. the

[1] Grave no. 2 in the same cemetery (Papatislures) also seems to have been used twice at much the same periods—end of seventh century and middle of second half of sixth century. It also is a chamber tomb. Cf. also graves x and xii at Makri Langoni, *Cl.Rh.* iv.

volutes join normally, the lozenge below being unusually large. Purple on occasional rows of dots of cable pattern, on buds, leaves of palmettes, on

Fig. 3.—N 1, Front View.

cross-strokes of volutes and the lozenges below. From Cyprus. Cesnola and Stern *Cypern* pl. 91, 3; Cesnola *Cyprus* fig. 30; Doell *Sammlung*

Cesnola pl. 71, 1, 3611. *Metr. Mus. Bull.* 1924, 97 fig. 2. Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 20 *a* (of front) and *c* (of side). Figs. 3 and 4.

2. Rhodes 13107. Amphora. Ht. ·27 m. Decoration as last, except that the junction of the volutes at the front is normal. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxxi figs. 195, 197. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 479, 4.

3. B.M. Fragments of amphora. Decoration as no. 2. On base, in red paint put on after firing, the monogram ⊢P. From Tell Defenneh. The inscription is illustrated in *Tanis* ii pl. 28.

4. Rhodes 10614. Amphora. Ht. ·28 m. Decoration as no. 2, except that small lotus flowers are sparsely distributed as filling-ornament below the volutes and that the lotus flowers and buds of the lowest zone are

Fig. 4.—N 1, Side View.

joined. The lip is thin in section as that of no. 7. From Ialysos. *Cl.Rh.* iii grave clxxx figs. 180, 181.

5. Small fragments of vases similarly decorated in *a*, Mykonos, from Rhencia; *b*, British Museum, from Tell Defenneh; *c*, Leipzig, from Naucratis.

6. Rhodes 5154. Fragmentary amphora, and much perished. Neck, a cable pattern. Belly apparently much as no. 1. From Ialysos, grave 37. *Annuario* vi–vii 301.

7. Berlin Inv. 3011. Amphora, much perished. Ht. ·29 m. Neck, meander and square. Rest of decoration as no. 2, except that small lotus flowers spring from the base on either side of the junction of the volutes. The lip is thin in section as that of no. 4. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 17.

8. Tübingen 2770. Amphora, much perished. Ht. ·295 m. Neck, A. quadruple, B. triple cable. The buds on the shoulder seem very close together. Body, A. buds springing from volutes and from base-line of zone, segment rosettes; B. palmette instead of lozenge, small lotus flowers on base-line: lotus flowers and buds. From Egypt (Alexandria market). *Exped. Sieglin* ii. 3, pl. 10 (coloured drawings of front, side and back); Watzinger, fig. 6 (drawing of back). All these drawings are unreliable.

These amphorae are perhaps related to the Altenburg Group. Common to both are the triple cable pattern on the neck, scraggly lotus flowers and thick buds, the careful and heavy form of the volutes and palmettes, the rounded shape. The shoulder decoration of the group recalls the amphora in Bonn, G 11. Nos. 1–7 correspond very closely. They must be the work of one hand and cannot be far separated in date.

No. 2 was found with an Attic B.F. cup of before 530. Both vases seem to have been new or nearly new at the time of the interment. No. 4 was found with an Attic B.F. amphora of 530–520 and cup of 540–520. The floruit of this group should then be towards the end of the third quarter of the century.

Four vases come from Rhodes, the others from neutral sites.

O. Volute Free Group.

1. Rhodes 12165. Amphora; flat shoulder. Ht. ·275 m. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly, volutes; small thin lotus flower below central junction. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave vi figs. 34, 36. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 481, 3.

2. Rhodes 12874. Amphora; flat shoulder. Ht. ·35 m. Decoration as no. 1, except half-filled lozenge for lotus flower. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxx figs. 169, 170.

3. B.M. A 1315 (64.10–7.255). Amphora. Ht. ·34 m. Decoration much as no. 1. From Camiros.

4. Berlin Inv. 30889. Amphora; flat shoulder. Ht. ·35 m. Decoration as no. 2, except that on shoulder rather thin lotus flowers and buds replace the ivy leaves. *Stephanos für Wiegand*, title-piece and p. 7: Neugebauer *Führer* pl. 16.

5. Rhodes 13681. Amphora; flat shoulder. Ht. ·44 m. Decoration as no. 3, except that on the shoulder instead of ivy leaf thinnish lotus flowers and buds, unjoined, and, below, chevrons. From Papatislures, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* vi–vii Papatislures grave iii figs. 12, 13.

6. Copenhagen 5173. Amphora. Ht. ·32 m. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, tongues: chevrons. Volutes as no. 2. From Camiros. *C.V.A. Copenhagen* ii pl. 79, 2.

7. Louvre A 327. Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·43 m. Decoration much as no. 1. From Rhodes. Salzmann pls. 46 and 47 (coloured and distorted); Zervos, figs. 266 (distorted), 264. *C.V.A. Louvre* i pl. 18, 10. Boehlau no. 12.

8. Colmar. Amphora. Ht. ·24 m. Neck, open cable. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, very clumsy lopsided volutes, one member being omitted. A palmette, very crudely drawn as are all on this vase, acts as filling below the central junction. From Camiros (or Cyprus). Bulle *A.A.* 1904, 50 fig. 3.

9. Florence 82633. Neck, ' meander.' Shoulder, tongues: chevrons. Belly, volutes.

Most of these amphorae are large, like the earlier pieces of the Running Man Group, from which doubtless is derived the idea of free field decoration. Here, however, the upper part of the shoulder has a confined zone of decoration; on nos. 5 and 6 there is also a narrow band of chevrons. The drawing of the volutes is on the whole free, nor do they dominate the vase as often on the Volute Zone Group. No. 8 is a grossly clumsy piece of work, badly designed and executed.

No. 1 was found with Attic of the first half of the fifth century, one R.F. hydria being as late as 460–450.[1] No. 2 with an Attic B.F. cup not later than 530. No. 5 with Attic of the last quarter of the sixth century. Considering the style and their probable relation to the Running Man Group, I would date these vases about the middle of the second half of the sixth century.

Nos. 2 and 7, and no. 2 of the Volute Zone Group are apparently all by the same hand. If so, this proves that, as indeed one would expect, such small differences as inserting or omitting a bar at the base of the palmettes have no significance.

Rhodes again should be the home of this group.

P. Volute Zone Group.

1. Rhodes 12190. Amphora; flat shoulder, and body well curved. Ht. ·35 m. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, tongues: chevrons. Belly, volutes: crescents: tongues. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave ix figs. 45, 46.

[1] See Jacobsthal *G.G.A.* 1933, 1–2, 8, and Rumpf *J.d.I.* 1933, 61.

2. Athens 14625. Amphora; flat shoulder. Ht. ·43 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf: open cable. Rest of decorative scheme as in no. 1. From Rhodes.

3. B.M. A 1314 (64.10–7.256). Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·31 m. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly, volutes: crescents: tongues. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 15.

4. B.M. 1901.6–9.25. Amphora. Ht. ·31 m. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, tongues: ivy leaf. Belly, volutes: crescents. From Rhodes (presumably, since given by Biliotti).

5. Rhodes 12017. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·285 m. Neck, A. double cable; B. meander and square. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, volutes: crescents. Rough work. From Ialysos. *Cl.Rh.* iii fig. 280. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 481, 2.

6. Rhodes 12394. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·30 m. Neck as no. 5. Shoulder, ivy leaf: open cable. Belly, volutes: crescents. Heavy compact work. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cxv figs. 263, 264, 265. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 418, 1–2: ii pl. 479, 1 (text wrong).

7. Oxford 1885.616. Amphora; flattish shoulder, and lip very broad. Ht. ·34 m. Neck, A. vertical zigzags; B. meander and square, members unjoined. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly, volutes: straggly crescents. The blobs below the volutes have been converted into ivy leaves. From Camiros. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 3 (of B.). Gardner, fig. 6 (a straightened-out drawing of the volute band, much too neat, and upside down).

8. Basle 1906.252. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·31 or ·32 m. Neck, A. meander and square; B. open cable. Shoulder, A. ivy leaf: band of hook meander; B. tongues: chevrons. Body, volutes—ivy leaves below as on no. 7: crescents. From Camiros. Zervos fig. 263 (B.). Boehlau no. 16.[1]

9. Rhodes 13355. Amphora. Ht. ·40 m. Neck, A. double cable; B. meander and square. Shoulder, tongues: buds. Body, volutes: crescents: tongues. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cxcviii fig. 375 (an unsatisfactory drawing: the shape should be as that of D 3, *Cl.Rh.* iv fig. 150).

10. Lausanne 4284. Amphora; flat shoulder and rounded body. Ht. ·32 m. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, tongues: chevrons. Body, volutes—instead of palmettes partially filled lozenges: crescents. From Camiros (?). Zervos fig. 262.

11. Rhodes 10615. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·30 m. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, tongues: open cable. Body, volutes—lozenge

[1] Assuming that the amphora described by Boehlau is that illustrated by Zervos. The other Fikellura piece in Basle (Y 6) mentioned by Boehlau was recatalogued also, as 1906.257.

instead of central palmette: crescents. From Ialysos. *Cl.Rh.* iii grave clxxix figs. 175, 176. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 480, 1 (in text, 3).

12. Professor V. G. Simkhovitch, New York. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·335 m. Decoration as in no. 11.

12*a*. Paris Market. Amphora; steep shoulder. Decoration as in no. 11. Perhaps the same vase as no. 12.

13. Rhodes 13693. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·30 m. Decoration as in no. 11, except for ivy leaf instead of tongues and that on one side two dot-rosettes fill the space between the central volutes. From Papatislures, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* vi–vii grave Pap. v, figs. 21, 25.

14. Rhodes 12967. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·28 m. Neck, single cable. Rest of decoration as in no. 11, except that on A. ivy leaf for tongues. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxvii figs. 188, 189. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 480, 2–3 (in text, 1–2).

15. Rhodes 12377. Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·285 m. Neck, A. double cable; B. meander and square. Shoulder, scraggly lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Belly, double spirals lying horizontally: crescents. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cxxvi figs. 277, 278. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 481, 1.

16. B.M. 1924.12–1.1047. Fragment from belly of amphora. Part of volutes of usual type: a dot-rosette is used as additional filling-ornament below a spiral. From Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis).

17. B.M. 1924.12–1.1050. Fragment from shoulder angle of largeish amphora. Shoulder, tongues in compartments: chain of pomegranates —there is no confining line below. Belly, part of volute and of lozenge filling. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 32, 3 (rough sketch). Dugas *R.A.* 1907, ii, 57 no. 67 (wrongly classed as Laconian). PLATE 17 *d*.

18. B.M. 1924.12–1.1049. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Shoulder, ? tongues: small open cable: buds, joined singly. Belly, volutes. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

19. B.M. 1924.12–1.1059. Fragment from belly of amphora. Part of volute, more intricate than usual: crescents. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

20. Amsterdam (formerly Hague 4542). Amphora. Ht. ·328 m. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly, volutes (on B. they do not meet in centre, but are connected by a horizontal stroke, and a rosette of eight segments takes the place of a palmette): crescents. From Samos (?). *C.V.A. Hague* ii pl. 68, 1–2.

21. Kassel T. 549. Amphora. Ht. ·325 m. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, tongues in compartments: A. hook meanders, as on Altenburg Group; B. lines and dots. Belly, A. small lotus flowers spring from the central volutes and there are a variety of rosettes between them. Below, coarse crescents. Kassel Mus. Phot. AV. 29, 30 and 31 (of A, B and side).

22. Rhodes 1300. Amphora. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues: ivy leaf. Body, volutes: crescents. On A. the volutes do not meet: from them, above, spring stalks from which hangs a single lotus flower.[1] The angles are filled with double lozenges, once only with a palmette. From temple of Zeus Atabyrios.

23. *a*. Fragments from Apollonia Pontica (Louvre CA. 1752): *R.A.* 1924, i, 345–6. *b*. From Olbia: *Izv.* (*Arch. Komm.*) 13, 219, figs. 158–9; 33, 118, fig. 23. *c*. From Memphis: fragment in the Egyptian Department, University College, London (? from site described by Petrie *Memphis* i 3).

This is the largest class of Fikellura amphorae. The execution is usually clumsy, especially of the smaller pieces. On the whole they are later than the New York Group and may well be derived from it. Nos. 20–22 resemble that group in that on one side the volutes do not meet and the interval is filled with rosettes or small lotus flowers on stems. The larger pieces are closely connected with the Volute Free Group; indeed O 2 and 7 are from the same hand as no. 2 of this group. In both groups the use of purple has been discarded and there is a tendency to greater clumsiness and negligence. This is the final phase of the Fikellura amphora; originality has completely disappeared.

No. 1 comes from a grave group of the very end of the century, no. 6, with the Dionysos amphoriskos (Y 12), from one of the last quarter. No. 13 was found with a Würzburg Group amphora, M 6, and with Attic cups of about the beginning of the Red-figure period; there were also found in the same grave a Vroulian cup and a Late Corinthian I pyxis, but it seems reasonable to omit them and construct an intrusive grave group of the end of the third quarter of the sixth century.[2] No. 14 is from a slightly later and no. 15 from perhaps a slightly earlier grave. No. 11 was found with Attic B.F. of the earlier part of the second half of the sixth century. This gives an early date for the beginning of the style, about 540, which would make this group overlap with some of the finest specimens of Fikellura figure drawing. On the other hand, the connection with the Altenburg Group supports a date not long after 540 for the beginning of this group; and with it must go the Volute Free Group. The New York Group seems typologically earlier, though grave groups suggest that it is actually contemporary with the earlier vases of this group. The lower limit cannot yet be determined exactly; it can hardly be later than the end of the century.

Rhodes again should be the place of origin.

[1] Flower as Fig. 9, 29. Cf. N 1.

[2] See p. 26 n. 1.

PP. Berezan Volute Amphora.

1. Leningrad 6246. Upper part of amphora. Original height roughly ·29 m. From Berezan. Fig. 5.

The volutes most closely resemble those of the Late 'Rhodian' A oinochoe in Berlin University (Fig. 15, 3); but this amphora does not

Fig. 5.—PP 1 (Scale about 1 : 2).

show a stage intermediate between the volutes of such an oinochoe and the volutes of the Volute Zone Group. It does not look earlier than the Tell Defenneh vases of the Altenburg Group. The volutes of this vase are indeed, in the treatment of the gussets, less close to the normal Fikellura type than are those of the Berlin University oinochoe. If the volutes on the oinochoe are the ancestor from which the normal Fikellura type developed, the volutes on this amphora are a late survival of the old type and not a stage in the transition.

Q. Amphorae and Oinochoai with Diagonal Decoration.

1. Munich 446. Amphora. Ht. ·34 m. Lip, ivy leaf. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, tongues: enclosed palmettes: single cable. Belly, dot reticulation with rosettes of four dots as filling: crescents: tongues. At the base of the handle are four inverted rays. From Italy. Sieveking-Hackl pl. 16. Boehlau no. 3.

2. B.M. 1924.23–2.1056, 1069, 1071–3, 1077. Fragments of body of amphora. Shoulder, tongues in compartments. Body, reticulation as in no. 1: crescents. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* ii pl. 32, 1. Boehlau no. 2.

3. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Tongues in compartments. Body, reticulation as in no. 1. From the Heraion.

4. Oxford 1925.609*b*. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Tongues in dotted compartments (see Fig. 12, 4): hook meander. Body, reticulation as in no. 1. From Naucratis.

5. B.M. A 1332 (1924.12–1.1079). Fragment from shoulder of small amphora or oinochoe. Open cable. Reticulation as in no. 1. From Naucratis.

6. Rhodes 13384. Amphora; steep shoulder, and the lip is rounded and small. Ht. ·29 m. Lip varnished. Neck, double cable. Shoulder, big ivy leaves. Belly, dot reticulation with crosses as filling: crescents. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave civ fig. 217. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 421, 3.

7. Boston 297. Amphora. Shape and decoration as no. 6. Ht. ·282 m. From Rhodes. Fairbanks pl. 29.

8. Rhodes 13078. Amphora; flattish shoulder. Ht. ·34 m. Neck, triple cable. Shoulder, A. lotus flowers and buds, unjoined; small ivy leaf: B. large ivy leaf; open cable. Belly, dot reticulation with neat crosses as filling: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined: tongues. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cxix fig. 273 (of A). *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 418, 3: ii pl. 482, 2.

9. Copenhagen 5174. Amphora. Ht. ·325 m. Neck, double cable.

Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly, reticulation as in no. 6: crescents. From Kechraki, Rhodes. *C.V.A. Copenhagen* ii pl. 79, 1.

10. Kassel S 9. Oinochoe, rather squat: missing, most of handle and neck. Conjectural height to top of handle about ·21 m. Neck, ? meander and square. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, reticulation as in no. 6: crescents: tongues. From Samos. Boehlau no. 48, pl. 3, 3.

11. Oxford 1925.608 *b*. Fragment of amphora with fairly steep shoulder. Shoulder, ? tongues in rounded compartments (Fig. 12, 6): open cable. Belly, clumsy crosses. From Naucratis.

12. Oxford 1912.34. Fragment from belly of amphora.[1] Dot reticulation with diamond-shaped blobs as filling: crescents. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 12.

13. Boston 298. Amphora; steep shoulder. Ht. ·321 m. Neck, A. 'meander'; B. single cable (type of Fig. 11, 8). Shoulder, A. dog of Würzburg type chasing two hares—filling-ornament dot triangles; B. tongues: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Belly, crosses placed diagonally: crescents: tongues. From Rhodes. Fairbanks pl. 31.

14. B.M. A 1316 (56.9–2.4). Amphora, flat-shouldered and badly shaped, the mouth being particularly eccentric. Ht. ·29 m. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, tongues: chevrons. Belly, crosses or blobs, placed diagonally: crescents: tongues. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 1.

15. Rhodes 14292. Amphora. Ht. ·30 m. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, crosses placed diagonally: crescents. From Nisyros. *Cl.Rh.* vi–vii, Nisyros grave xviii, fig. 28.

16. Florence. Fragments of upper part of amphora. Neck, meander. Shoulder, double ivy leaf. Belly, crosses placed diagonally.

17. Other fragments with similar diagonal blob decoration: *a*, in Mykonos, from Rheneia; *b*, in the British Museum (1924.12–1.1101), from Naucratis or Tell Defenneh: and *c*, with crosses, from Berezan.

The varieties of diagonal decoration are noted later (p. 79). It is impossible to determine whether the scheme originated on amphorae, amphoriskoi or even oinochoai. The oinochoe no. 10 comes from Boehlau's excavations in Samos, which suggests a mid-sixth century date. Ionian cups not much later sometimes have a band of similar reticulation.[2] Nos. 6 and 8 come from graves with Attic of the end of third quarter of the century. No. 15 of the fourth. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are probably in the third quarter; no. 1 looks as early. No. 13 must be dated with the Würzburg

[1] Not from an amphoriskos, as stated in *C.V.A. Oxford* ii 85.

[2] *E.g.* the fragments of a deep band cup in the British Museum and Boston 350.3 (Fairbanks pl. 38).

Group. No. 10 comes from a grave with G 14 and an early-looking cup (as Boehlau pl. 8, 21). On the analogy of the amphoriskoi, vases of this class may continue to the end of the century. The group might then cover the second half.

Distribution is wide. A relatively large amount has been found in Egypt. Of the East Greek areas Rhodes has been the most prolific, and it is from Rhodes that the majority of the similarly decorated amphoriskoi come.

R. Plain Body Group.

1. B.M. A 693 (64.10–7.149). Oinochoe. Height to top of handle ·265 m. Purple on occasional tongues and dots of rosettes; and for the central line of the cable-knots, where it is directly on the clay. From Camiros. Plate 16 *a*.

2. Boston 330.7. Fragment from shoulder of oinochoe. Tongues: simpler cable form than no. 1 and stalked rosettes. From Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 36.

3. Boston 326. Oinochoe with cylindrical mouth. Ht. ·20 m., to lip (?). The neck is varnished. Shoulder, tongues. At base, rays. Mr. Caskey has kindly informed me that he thinks it very likely that there was once decoration on the shoulder below the tongues, though if there was it cannot now be reconstructed. From Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 36.

4. Munich (labelled 448 and 449) and Bonn 2086 (probably from the same vase). Fragments from neck and body: cylindrical handle, joining neck half-way up, and therefore from an amphora. The original height would be between ·25 and ·30 m. The free ornaments on the shoulder are thin lotus flowers and 4 × 5 rosettes (as Fig. 9, 20). Rest of decoration as in no. 1. Purple on occasional tongues and central petal of lotus flowers. All from Caere.

5. Kassel S 49. Fragments of upper part of oinochoe. Lip, eye in white. Neck, a cable pattern. Shoulder, tongues: thin lotus flowers and buds, joined. From Samos. Boehlau no. 49, pl. 12, 7.[1]

5*a*. Birmingham University. Oinochoe, made up from fragments and nearly complete. The neck is small, and there are no rotelles or necking ring. Height to lip ·22 m. Neck, single cable. Shoulder as no. 5. At base, rays. Probably from Rhodes.

6. Mykonos 12797. Fragments of upper part of oinochoe. Lip, eyes and rosettes in white. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues in compartments: traces of isolated ornaments, perhaps of cable and of square complexes. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 50, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 9.

[1] Another fragment of this or a similar oinochoe is in Vathy Museum, from Tigani.

7. Samos, German Excavations K 1026. Fragment of shoulder. Tongues, unconfined: part of volute complex and of rosette. Purple on occasional tongues. From the Heraion.

8. Samos, German Excavations 243. Fragment of shoulder. No tongues: lotus flowers and buds, joined and of unusual form (Fig. 13, 3). From the Heraion. Technau *A.M.* 1929 Beil. 9 *b*, 1.

9. Cairo 26.151. Fragment of shoulder. Chequer band: lotus flowers and buds, joined and of unusual form (Fig. 13, 5). Between the binding loops small dot-rosettes. Purple on buds and central part of flower. Possibly not Fikellura. Presumably from Egypt. Edgar pl. 3.

10. *a*, Boston 330.9; *b*, Cairo 26.152; *c*, Oxford 1925.608 *b*. Fragments from shoulder, probably of same oinochoe. Tongues, unconfined: thin lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. The buds are enclosed (Fig. 13, 10). Purple on central petal of flower. Coarse technique. Graffito on *b*, ερμαγορησμανεθηκεοτ. . . . τωπολλονι. From Naucratis. *a*, Fairbanks, pl. 36. *b*, *Naukratis* ii pl. 20, 876 (rough sketch).

11. B.M. 86.4–1.89. Fragment from shoulder of biggish pot. Very wide-spreading lotus flowers and buds (Fig. 13, 4, where the parts in outline are restored). Purple on innermost petal. Graffito. . εθηκε. Perhaps Fikellura. From Naucratis.

[12. Mykonos 12792. Amphora; shoulder very low, handles cylindrical, lip spreading but not thicker than neck. Ht. ·24 m. Lip, neck and handles varnished. Shoulder, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined and widely spaced. Body, narrow bands of red and black varnish, as in Aeolian. Possibly Fikellura. From Rheneia. *Délos* xvii pl. 38, *Vases de Fikellura* no. 1.]

These vases, mainly oinochoai, are consistent in their decorative scheme —on the shoulder, tongues and large ornaments, well spaced and recurring alternately; at the base nearly equilateral rays, bounded above by two or three narrow bands. Most elaborate of the shoulder ornaments are the cable complexes, which have their counterpart on 'Rhodian' dishes and a group of ring-footed cups of indeterminate East Greek fabric.[1] Stalked rosettes, found rarely elsewhere in Fikellura, are also inherited from 'Rhodian' dishes and the ring-footed cups.[2] The lotus flowers on nos. 4, 5, 5*a*, 10 and 12 are of normal Fikellura type. Nos. 8 and 9 show freak flowers,[3] no. 10 enclosed buds.[4] Further similarity to Rhodian is evident

[1] Compare *e.g.* the dish B.M. A 710 and the cup Kinch pl. 18, 3 and fig. 129 for the single form of no. 2. For the double form of no. 1, the cup Kinch pl. 18, 2 *a*. On these cups the spacing and alternation of the ornaments is the same. The roundel filling of the angles is typically 'Rhodian.'

[2] See p. 58. [3] See p. 78. [4] See p. 78. As on many 'Rhodian' dishes.

in the accuracy and elaboration of the neck decoration and in the narrowness of the streaks on the handle of no. 1.

The shape of the body tends toward the spherical in nos. 1 and 3, but is normal in no. 5*a*. No. 3 has a cylindrical mouth. In no. 5*a* the neck is too small for the body, and there are no rotelles or necking ring. The amphorae nos. 4 and 12 are rather ovoid in shape and have cylindrical handles; they are remote from the normal Fikellura amphora form.

No. 5 is from Boehlau's West Necropolis in Samos, but was found alone. The general dating of the necropolis supports a date towards the end of the first half of the sixth century, with which the similarities to 'Rhodian' agree. The peculiar shape of amphora and the elaborate cable complex suggest that this group stands rather apart from the main style of Fikellura. It may well be earlier. No. 12 is probably of Cycladic manufacture.[1]

S. Louvre Group.

1. Louvre A 321. Oinochoe. Height to top of handle, ·29 m. Lip, eyes and rosettes in white. Neck, meander and square. Down the front of the body is a broad panel decorated on the shoulder with birds and below with an open cable, on the belly with scales and at the bottom with tongues. The panel is flanked on either side with a narrow band of horizontal strokes; a wide band of bars, roughly horizontal and filled with dots; and three wide bands of bars, alternately filled and reserved, which run diagonally downwards from a vertical spine at the back. Inside the lip are small lotus flowers and buds, unjoined, in white. Purple on raised wings of birds, and occasionally on the cable pattern, the dots of the scales and the filled bars. From Camiros. Pottier I pl. 13. Zervos fig. 336 (a three-quarter view and the best illustration). *C.V.A. Louvre* i pl. 21, 12. Boehlau no. 42.

2. Odessa (?). Fragment from neck and shoulder of similar oinochoe. On shoulder, in place of the birds, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Otherwise as no. 1. From Olbia. *Izv.* (*Arch. Komm.*) 13, 218 fig. 157; 33, 119 fig. 24. Ebert *Südrussland in Altertum* fig. 77.

3. Hague Inv. T 2489. Fragment from shoulder of oinochoe. Lotus flowers and buds, unjoined: open cable. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Hague* ii pl. 68, 6: Prins de Jong *Scherben aus Naukratis* pl. 2, 5.

4. C. M. Robertson Esq., Cambridge. Two fragments from upper part of body of oinochoe. *a*, Shallow band of scales; bars, longer than elsewhere in this group, alternately varnished and reserved. In the reserved bars well-spaced dots. *b*, Sprays of myrtle, apparently springing from a vertical branch. Purple on alternate varnished bars and some dots of

[1] Cycladic imitations of 'Rhodian' are not uncommon. Several are illustrated in *Délos* x.

scales. These probably come from the same vase, *a* being from the left side of the central panel, which is here interrupted on the belly, and *b* from the back. The central branch of the myrtle would correspond to the vertical band in the centre of the back of no. 1. The Hague sherd, no. 3, might be from the shoulder of the same pot. Probably from Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.[1]

5. B.M. 86.4–1.1125; 1924.12–1.35, 36 and 1157 (A 1328); and another unnumbered sherd. Fragments covering about two-thirds of shoulder of oinochoe. A central panel decorated with scales, and flanked by broad varnished bands. Beyond them, running diagonally, bars filled with dots. There is no distinct shoulder frieze to the panel. Purple on the dots of the scales. From Naucratis.[2]

6. Kassel S 7. Fragments of body and handle of oinochoe. The surface is very badly worn. Scheme of decoration much as no. 1. It would seem that the central panel was divided into horizontal friezes, one at least of which contained animals. From Samos. Boehlau no. 43, pl. 3, 5–5*a* (the handle, as Boehlau states, has been restored on the wrong side).

7. Kassel S 49. Fragments from body of oinochoe. Surface badly worn. Scheme of decoration much as no. 6. The sides of the panel are more nearly vertical than appears from Boehlau. The vertical meander and square, as Boehlau points out, will be from the centre of the back of the vase. From Samos. Boehlau no. 44, pl. 9, 11–13.

8. Smyrna 469. Fragment from central panel of similar oinochoe. Woman wearing chiton.[3] From Miletus. PLATE 8 *d*.

9. Boston 331. Fragments of oinochoe. 'Originally perhaps ht. ·30 m.' Lip, rosettes and eyes in white. Neck, quintuple cable. It would seem that on each side of and above the central panel ran a band of enclosed palmettes. On the inside of lip there is painted in white a small volute. Purple on occasional bars and leaves of palmettes. From Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 36. PLATE 17 *g*.

10. Oxford G 132.8. Fragment of oinochoe, from bottom of central panel, which terminates in a row of crescents and a band of lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Purple on occasional crescents, on central petal of lotus flowers and as dots at base of buds. From Naucratis. PLATE 17 *c*.

11. Samos, German Excavations. Fragments of oinochoe, decorated with the usual bars. Occasional purple. From the Heraion.

[1] Formerly in the possession of Captain Bunbury, who on two or three occasions received small fragments of pottery from the Egypt Exploration Society.

[2] Prof. Jacobsthal has sent me a photograph of another fragment in the B.M. (A 1728), perhaps from the same vase. Bars, alternately varnished and reserved. From Naucratis also.

[3] The Clazomenian riders with similar distortion are also women (*e.g.* B.M. B 116[1]: *Tanis* ii pl. 29, 4).

12. Leningrad. Fragments of oinochoe Fig. 6.[1]

This group marks the triumph of the Fikellura potter in his search for the bizarre and it is fortunate that in the Louvre oinochoe we have a complete piece. The shape and the decoration of the neck continue the Rhodian tradition. The bars must be an original invention. Scale pattern occurs on a fragment of a late 'Rhodian' lid in the British Museum.[2] The birds on no. 1 are of mid-sixth century type.

Fig. 6.—S 12.

Sometimes the centre panel is partitioned into horizontal friezes with human, animal, vegetable or abstract motives. On no. 5 the shoulder frieze is abandoned. It is difficult to make anything out of no. 4. It has

[1] The head may date as late as 530: compare the fragments of K 7 and K 8 (Plate 10 *d* and *e*), but this looks clumsier and earlier—I think about 540. The treatment of ear and ear-ring is similar to a Clazomenian type. The hair seems to be done in a krobylos. The ornament in the centre looks like a lotus-flower springing from volutes, much as in Caeretan (*e.g.* Berlin Inv. 3345, Neugebauer pl. 18). The photograph came to my notice too late for the piece to be properly incorporated.

[2] B.M. 1934.12–1.217. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

been suggested that in this group the vase was thought of as a bird. The central pattern, often suitably decorated with scale pattern, would then be the breast, the bars running diagonally the wings.

Fragments of two of these oinochoai were found in the West Necropolis in Samos, with pottery which has not yet been dated precisely. The 'Rhodian' connections, however, are the strongest argument for dating the group at the end of the first half of the sixth century: but the head on S 12 suggests that it continued later.

T. Oinochoai with Zone Decoration, and Animals or Birds on Shoulder.

1. Rhodes 13400. Fragments of oinochoe. Height to lip originally about ·20 m. Lip, white eyes and rosettes. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues (as Fig. 12, 1); birds; filling-ornament lotus flowers and dot-rosettes. Belly, four zones of crescents: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Purple retouches on birds and occasional tongues. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cxcii fig. 374.

2. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from shoulder of oinochoe. Birds with raised wings; filling-ornament dot- and T-rosettes. From the Heraion.

3. B.M. Fragments from belly of oinochoe. At least three bands of crescents: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. From Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis).

4. B.M. (A 1322 ?) 88.6–1.561, 1924.12–1.212, 213, 1057, 1058, 1102, etc. unnumbered, and Leipzig. Fragments from body of oinochoe. Height originally about ·15 m. to base of neck. Shoulder, tongues: animal frieze, —, sphinx, goat, sphinx, goat, partridge. Belly, band of dot and billet: four zones of crescents: dot and billet: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Purple on occasional tongues and crescents, on wings or belly, shoulders and rumps of animals, on central petal of lotus flowers and at base of buds. A fragmentary neck, 86.4–1.1051, perhaps belongs. On the lip are traces of eyes in white, and the neck is decorated with a double band of lotus flowers and buds, of the same type as above, between bands of dot and billet. From Naucratis. The neck is illustrated in *Naukratis* i pl. 7, 14. Plate 14 *c* (A and C in B.M., B in Leipzig).

5. B.M. 1924.12–1.1053. Fragment from shoulder. Lotus flowers and buds, unjoined: meander and square. The central petal of the flower is tripartite (Fig. 13, 1). From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh. Plate 17 *a*.

6. Oxford 1925.608 *b*. Fragment from shoulder, probably of oinochoe. Lotus flowers and buds, unjoined and of unusual form (Fig. 13, 2). Purple on central petal of flower and at base of buds. From Naucratis. Plate 16 *b*.

7. Samos, German Excavations. Fragments from shoulder and base

of oinochoe (?). On shoulder and at bottom of body, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. From the Heraion.

8. Bonn 2002.18. Fragments of upper part of small oinochoe. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues: birds (silhouette, eye reserved). Purple on occasional tongues. From Abusir.

These vases correspond to the amphorae of the Lion and Mykonos Groups. The shoulder takes the main frieze, and the belly is mainly occupied with crescents.

No. 1 was found with a Late Corinthian I aryballos. These vases date round the middle of the century.

There are fragments of oinochoai of similar type, decorated on the body with several zones of crescents, in Samos, and another from Miletus in Smyrna.

U. Miscellaneous Oinochoai.

1. B.M. 88.6–1.556 (*bis* and *ter*). Fragments from lower part of belly, decorated with overlapping star pattern. Graffito on the inside of one sherd, διοσκ. . .[1] From Naucratis. Dugas, *R.A.* 1907, i, 383 fig. 5 (wrongly stated to be Laconian and flat, *R.A.* 1907, ii, 57). Plate 17 *b*.

2. Samos, Vathy. Similar small fragment.

It is impossible on the available evidence to determine how great an area of the vase was covered with this pattern. It is unlikely that the fragments are from the central panel of vases of the Louvre Group, since the wall is much thinner than is usual in that group. Nor is it likely that the painter would be so painstaking as to decorate the whole belly with this laborious ornament, particularly if one assumes that a zone system of decoration was employed on the cups. On the analogy of the cup W 6, these pieces belong to the middle of the century.

3. B.M. 86.4–1.1040. Fragments from near base. Diameter of foot ·087 m.; the original height must have been about ·26 m. to the top of the handle. Purple on occasional knobs of rosettes. From Naucratis. Plate 16 *c*.[2]

The ribbon pattern goes back to Middle Corinthian[3] and is later a favourite ornament on Droop cups and Nikosthenic vases. In East Greek it is found on Clazomenian dinoi.[4] The stalked rosette occurs on oinochoai

[1] From the shape of the vase, this graffito must have been made after breaking.

[2] For the dividing bands cf. the fragments from Ephesos in the B.M. (Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* pl. 49 and fig. 45).

[3] *E.g.* Payne *Necrocorinthia* no. 887.

[4] See E. R. Price *East Greek Pottery* 27.

of the Plain Body Group (R 1 and 2). Middle of the sixth century. Compare no. 8.

4. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from belly. At least three rows of inverted rays. From the Heraion.

Probably about the middle of the sixth century.

5. Samos, Vathy. Fragments of upper part of small oinochoe. Lip reserved; eyes and rosettes in varnish. Neck, quartered lozenges and (?) square complex. Shoulder, buds. From Tigani.

Middle of sixth century?

6. B.M. 86.4–1.1052. Fragment of neck. Lip, eye and rosette in white. Neck, stalked rosettes. From Naucratis.

Middle of sixth century.

7. Oxford G 121.17. Fragment from belly, probably of oinochoe. Elaborate meander and square: lotus flowers and buds. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* 2 pl. 397, 10.

Not long after the middle of the century.

8. Bucharest. Body and part of neck. Present height ·22 m. Neck, meander and square. Shoulder, tongues (as Fig. 12, 1): crescents open right. Belly, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined and reversed: crescents open left: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined and reversed: crescents open right: hook-meander: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined and upright. On base, painted, a large Δ. From Istria. Parvan *Les débuts de la vie romaine aux bouches du Danube* 27 fig. 9: Mme. Lambrino *Dacia* iii–iv, *La céramique d'Histria—Série rhodo-ionienne* 366–7 figs. 9–10, and 375 no. 7.

The narrow zones and the careful double lines which separate them recall no. 3, to which this vase must be closely related. Middle of the sixth century.

V. Squat Oinochoai.

1. Munich, 448. Small squat oinochoe; cylindrical handle, trefoil mouth. Ht. ·135 m. Lip, eyes in white. Neck, hook meander. Shoulder, buds, unjoined. Belly, crescents: tongues. From Sammlung Vogell. Sieveking-Hackl pl. 16.

2. Kassel S 10. Oinochoe; more rounded contours than no. 1. Ht. ·137 m. (to top of handle). On lip traces of white, probably eyes. Neck, simple meander. Shoulder, crescents. Belly, a second zone of crescents: tongues. From Samos. Boehlau no. 46, pl. 2, 5.

Middle of sixth century or soon after.

W. Cups with Ring Foot.

1. B.M. 1924.12–1.215. Fragment from upper part of cup. Diameter about ·15 m. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh. E. R. Price *J.H.S.* 1924, 183 fig. 4 (outside). Plate 1 *d–e*.

2. Kassel S 49*bv*. Fragment from half-way down bowl of cup of diameter about ·14 m. Outside, zone of dot-rosettes, widely spaced. On the inside the surface has perished. From Samos.

3. Kassel S 49*g*. Fragment from centre of cup. Outside, rays round the foot: occasional bands on bowl. Underneath the base, concentric circles. Inside, star: lotus flowers and buds, joined. From Samos. Boehlau no. 56, pl. 9, 9–9*a*.

4. Kassel S 49*n*. Fragment from centre of cup. On each side a star, that on the outside as on no. 3, the inner with fifteen petals. From Samos. Boehlau no. 57, pl. 12, 10 (inside).[1]

5. B.M. 1924.12–1.214. Fragment from bowl of cup. Outside, occasional bands. Inside, zone with well-spaced rosettes of four dots: inner zone with traces of a small lotus flower, free in field. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh. E. R. Price *J.H.S.* 1924, 183 fig. 4.

6. B.M. 88.6–1.556. Fragment from near centre of cup. From Naucratis. E. R. Price *J.H.S.* 1924, 183 fig. 4. PLATE I *a–c*.

7. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from bowl of cup. Outside, surface perished. Inside, partridges of unusual type, moving left. From the Heraion.

8. Samos, German Excavations. Fragments probably of same cup. Outside, tongues and band of alternate dots (see FIG. 10, 6). Inside, at least two zones of crescents. From the Heraion; earlier than the Rhoikos altar.

9. Oxford G 117.16. Fragment with rim. Outside undecorated. Inside, on rim, strokes: on bowl, very clumsy birds—purple patches on bodies. Wall thick and style clumsy. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 9.

10. Kassel. Fragment from bowl of cup. On both sides tongues. From Samos.

11. Samos, Vathy. Fragment of similar coarseness, apparently decorated in the usual narrow zones.

12. B.M. 86.4–1.344. Small fragment of rim. The rim is unusually large. Inside, ivy leaves. Outside, graffito . . ος. From Naucratis.

Unfortunately only small fragments of any of these cups exist. No. 3, the largest, suggests that the inner zones, inside and outside, were compactly decorated, while the outer zones contained only sparse ornament. But it is at least possible that some were completely covered with compact decoration, and that others were comparatively free. No. 9 supports the second theory; but it is a later and very clumsy piece.

[1] Another similar fragment is in Kassel also from Samos. Rays of star at irregular intervals. Part of the ring foot is preserved.

The shape of the cup (Fig. 7) is inherited from late seventh- or early sixth-century East Greek wares. The style of the bitch on no. 6 is that of the early Lion Group. The filling-ornament is neat and early. These cups then belong to the end of the first half of the sixth century, with the exception of no. 9, which should be from the third quarter of the century.

The majority of these fragments come from Samos, none from Rhodes.

X. Heraion Cup.

1. Samos, German Excavations. Fragments of cup with offset lip. Foot missing, presumably stemmed. Diameter about ·25–·27 m. Inside, Gorgoneion; beneath tongue, hanging lotus flower: Boreads: dolphins: on the lip, leg of bird (?). Outside, round foot, tongue pattern: spirals: very small comasts between handle volutes: on the lip, chain of buds. Dividing bands of dots and strokes (Fig. 10, 9). Purple on tongue of Gorgoneion, on shoulder and lower part of wing of Boreads, and on occasional tongues. White dots on body of snakes. Incision on heads of snakes and on edge of hair. The handle is varnished. From the Heraion. Kunze *A.M.* 1934, 118, 122, Beil. 10, 3–4, 11.

Middle of third quarter of sixth century. This is the only Fikellura Gorgoneion.[1] Incision is not used elsewhere in this fabric. The cup has little relation to any other Fikellura piece.

Y. Amphoriskoi.

Group 1 : *Zone Decoration.*
Shape (*a*).[2]

1. Bibliothèque Nationale 30. Ht. ·25 m. Handle two-reeded. Neck, A. variant form of meander and square; B. meander cross. Shoulder, A. lotus flowers and buds, unjoined; tongues in separate compartments (see Fig. 12, 5). Belly, scales: crescents: tongues. Purple on dots of scales. From Aegina. De Ridder pl. 1, 30. *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 5, 1–2.

2. Oxford 1925.608*d*. Fragment from belly, probably of amphoriskos. Scales with large central blobs. Purple on occasional diagonal rows of these blobs. From Naucratis.

3. C. M. Robertson, Esq., Cambridge. Fragment of shoulder, probably of amphoriskos. Tongues: open cable. Probably from Naucratis or Tell Defenneh (Capt. Bunbury).[3]

[1] For East Greek Gorgons see Payne *Necrocorinthia* 88. Fragments of an Ionian B.F. cup in the B.M. from Naucratis show snakes, probably from a Gorgoneion (see Kunze *A.M.* 1934, 93–94 no. 8, Beil. 7, 3).

[2] Cf. pp. 58–9.

[3] See p. 40, n. 7.

4. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment of shoulder, probably of amphoriskos. Ivy leaf. From the Heraion.

5. Kassel. Fragment. Shoulder, dots on stalks (pomegranates): reserved zone. Belly, occasional rosettes of four dots. From Samos. Boehlau no. 59, pl. 12, 3.

Shape (*b*).

6. Basle 1906.257. Ht. ·26 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly, double spirals lying horizontally: crescents: tongues. From Camiros. Zervos fig. 373. Boehlau no. 41.

7. Syracuse. Ht. ·143 m. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, volutes of unusual form: crescents: tongues. From Syracuse. *N.Sc.* 1925, 192 fig. 20, grave 36. Found with Late Corinthian II.

Shape (*c*).

8. Rhodes 13165. Ht. ·205 m. Belly, on each side a goat of late Lion Group type; filling-ornament various rosettes; under handles double spirals placed vertically: crescents: tongues. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave clxxx fig. 360. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 422, 1.

Grave group of third quarter of sixth century.

9. Stamboul 5493. Height originally ·18–·19 m. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, myrtle wreath: two zones of crescents. From Elaeus.

10. B.M. A 1319. Ht. ·16 m. Very wide neck. Neck, simple meander. Shoulder, large ivy leaf. Belly, three zones of crescents. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 38.

11. New York C.P. 431. Ht. ·237 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly, on each side a bird between handle ornaments of Running Man Group type (see Fig. 17, 6): crescents: tongues. From Cyprus. Cesnola *Cyprus* pl. 47 fig. 41; Doell *Cesnola Coll.* pl. 17, 2: Myres *Handbook of Cesnola Coll.* 292 no. 1726. Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 20 *b* (handle ornament).

The bird has some resemblance to those of the Running Man and Würzburg Groups. Third quarter of the sixth century, towards end.

A fragment from just below the shoulder decorated with crescents in Berlin, Arch. Sem. der Univ. D. 746. From Eleusis.

The above are probably from the third quarter of the sixth century, and except for nos. 1 and 2 not early in it.

Group 2 : Free Field Decoration.
Shape (*a*).

12. Rhodes 12396. Ht. ·33 m. Three-reeded handle and strong lip. Neck, quadruple cable. Shoulder, buds, unconfined below; segment-rosettes. Belly, A. Dionysos; B. warrior; handle-ornament of Running Man Group type, the palmette much enlarged (see Fig. 17, 3);

bands. From Makri Langoni. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cxv figs. 267, 268 and pl. 5 (in colours; omits some detail). *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 420, 1–2. PLATE 12.

Professor Beazley suggests that the warrior might be Ares, and the two figures of Ares and Dionysos an extract from the Return of Hephaistos, —the successful and the unsuccessful envoys. The figures themselves offer no obvious comparisons. Shield aprons do not appear on Attic vases till the very end of the sixth century; [1] they are rare in B.F., frequent in early R.F. On Clazomenian Sarcophagi they begin, I suppose, earlier than on Attic vases. Here the form of the apron is clumsier than on any Clazomenian Sarcophagus, which implies, on a piece as finely executed as this—though admittedly the artist took less trouble with Ares than with Dionysos—that the developed method of rendering the apron was not yet known.

12*a*. Rhodes. Original ht. about ·33 m. Missing, foot. Belly, A. deer, kneeling: B. deer, running and looking back. The lower member of the handle-ornament projects. Otherwise, even to details, the decoration is as on no. 12. From Marmaro, Ialysos, grave 4.

Y 12 was found with the Volute Zone amphora P 6 and with Attic of the last quarter of the sixth century. Y 12*a* with Attic of round about 520. These two pieces, clearly the work of one hand, must then be dated to the last quarter. Otherwise the quality of the workmanship, compared with contemporary Fikellura from Rhodes, would suggest an earlier date. And they should be Rhodian. The amphoriskos seems to belong peculiarly to Rhodes; and there are from Rhodes other amphoriskoi of more or less similar shape and with similar rosettes on the shoulder. Admittedly these have diagonal decoration on the belly, but at least they seem to be products of the same workshop.[2]

Group 3 : *Reticulation.*
Shape (*a*).

13. Athens 10816. Ht. ·28 m. Very broad shape; three-reeded handles of which the inner reed is varnished, the outer reeds reserved; strong lip. Neck, B. meander and square, within which a rosette. Shoulder, B., for zigzags, chevrons. From Aegina. Boehlau no. 35, fig. 30: Pfuhl fig. 129. PLATE 15 *b*.

Careful work. On the evidence of the shape and neck decoration the date is the middle of the third quarter of the sixth century.

14. Berlin Inv. 3005. Ht. ·24 m. Broad, but less carefully articulated

[1] Among the earliest vases with shield aprons are a B.F. lekythos in New York, 26.60.76, of about 500; and the Berlin kyathos of the Panaitios painter (Gerhard *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* pl. 51, 4) of 500–490. I am indebted to Professor Beazley for these references.

[2] Close, Y 16 from Rhodes; Y 19 from Aegina. Less close, Y 18, unknown provenance; Y 24 from Rhodes.

than no. 13. Foot very spreading. Neck, skeleton quadruple cable (see FIG. 11, 5). Shoulder, large dot rosettes. Belly, dot reticulation: crescents: long thin rays. From Camiros. *J.d.I.* 1886, 142, figure in text. Boehlau no. 32.

15. Boston 300. Ht. ·19 m. Only one handle. Otherwise shape and decoration as no. 14, but apparently less sure. Fairbanks pl. 30.

These two go together. Third quarter of sixth century.

16. Rhodes 11933. Ht. ·335 m. Strong lip. Neck, quadruple cable. Shoulder, segment-rosettes. Belly, dot-reticulation with crosses; crescents: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. From Ialysos. *Cl.Rh.* iii grave ccliv fig. 266. *C.V.A. Rhodes* ii pl. 479, 3.

Grave group of about 530.

17. Odessa (?). Two-reeded handle; strong lip. Neck, multiple cable. Shoulder, lotus flowers and buds: chevrons. Belly, dot-reticulation with crosses: crescents: tongues. From Olbia. *A.A.* 1914, 233 fig. 47.

18. Cambridge 1/24. Ht. ·295 m. Two-reeded handles. Neck, meander cross. Shoulder, segment-rosettes. Belly, dot-reticulation: crescents. From Weber Collection. *C.V.A. Cambridge* i pl. 7, 2.

Shape (*b*).

19. Athens 2815. Ht. ·36 m. Three-reeded handles; strong lip. Neck, triple cable. Shoulder, segment-rosettes. Belly, dot-reticulation with crosses: crescents: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. From Aegina. Boehlau no. 28, fig. 29*a*: Pfuhl fig. 130.

Neat work. The lotus flower is of an unusual form, the calyx swelling at the base (see FIG. 13, 8).

20. Vulci. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, dot-reticulation with crosses: crescents: tongues. *Mon. Ined.* i pl. 26, 17. Boehlau no. 29.

21. Adria A 179. Fragment. Original height about ·40 m. (?). Design as no. 20. Schöne *Cat.*, p. 23, 1. Boehlau no. 30.

22. New York 26.60.22. Ht. ·245 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Belly as no. 20. The foot does not seem to belong.

22*a*. Sofia 6286. Foot missing. Original ht. about ·31 m. Decoration as no. 22, except that rosettes of four dots replace crosses. From the sea at Apollonia Pontica.

23. Delos B 6.048. Ht. ·25 m. Handle two-reeded. Shoulder, birds. Belly as no. 20. From Mt. Cynthus. *Délos* x pl. 18 no. 108; xi fig. 135.

24. Berlin Inv. 3000. Ht. ·29 m. Two-reeded handles. Shoulder, segment-rosettes. Belly, reticulation of rosettes of four dots: crescents: tongues. From Camiros. *J.d.I.* 1886, 124, fig. in text. Boehlau no. 31.

25. Berlin F 3979. Ht. ·28 m. Two-reeded handles and strong lip.

Shoulder, tongues. Belly, vertical zigzags: crescents: tongues. Boehlau no. 37.

Shape (*c*).

For the remaining vases of Group 3, unless otherwise stated, the decoration of the neck is meander and cross, and of the belly reticulation, crescents and tongues.

26. Louvre A 333. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 33.

27. Louvre A 334. Ht. ·25 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. From Camiros. Boehlau no. 34. Pottier i pl. 13.

28. B.M. A 1318 (60.4–4.39). Ht. ·26 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. From Camiros.

29. Bibliothèque Nationale 28. Ht. ·25 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Reticulation of dot-rosettes. From Rhodes. *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 5, 3.

30. Delphi. From Delphi. Neat work.

31. Cambridge G 40. Ht. ·253 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. From Rhodes. *C.V.A. Cambridge* i pl. 7, 1. Gardner pl. 3.

32. Cambridge 2/24. Ht. ·26 m. Shoulder, segment-rosettes. From Weber Collection. *C.V.A. Cambridge* i pl. 7, 3.

33. Munich 447. Ht. ·18 m. Shoulder, tongues. Sieveking-Hackl pl. 16.

34. Berlin Inv. 30090. Ht. ·18 m. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, vertical zigzags, etc. Decoration exactly as no. 25.

35. Rhodes 12353. Ht. ·225 m. Shoulder, segment-rosettes. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cix fig. 249. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 422, 5 (in text, 4).

Found with the amphora L 12 and Attic of the end of the sixth century. Neat work.

36. Rhodes 12308. Ht. ·24 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Instead of crescents, vertical zigzags. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave cxxxiii fig. 292. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 422, 4 (in text, 5).

Found with Attic of the end of the sixth century. Neat work.

37. Leningrad 1914.N.71. Shoulder, ivy leaf. From Kertsch.

38. Bucharest. Fragment of belly. Diagonal lines, with crosses in the lozenges they form. From Istria. Mme. Lambrino, *Dacia* iii–iv 366 fig. 7, 374 no. 6.

Shape (*d*).

39. Rhodes 13215. One handle only. Ht. ·18 m. Shoulder, tongues. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxxvi fig. 202. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 422, 3 (in text, 2).

40. Rhodes 13478. Ht. ·15 m. Neck, open cable. Shoulder tongues

as Fig. 12, 5, but joined by chevrons. Bands round foot. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave c fig. 215.

41. Rhodes 13438. Ht. ·16 m. Shoulder, tongues. Belly, for crescents, chevrons. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave c fig. 213.

41*a*. Rhodes 13439. As no. 41. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave c.

41*b*. Rhodes. Ht. ·23 m. Reticulation of three lines surrounding dot. Neatish work. From Marmaro, Ialysos, grave 46.

Nos. 40–41*a* were found together with no. 44 and Attic of the end of the sixth century.

Most of the vases of Group 3 belong to the last third of the sixth century. The smaller and less ambitious, as one would expect, appear to be the latest.

Group 4 : Banded.

The belly of these amphoriskoi is decorated with spaced bands, one thick and then several grouped thin bands: the lower part is undecorated. On the neck, meander cross.

Shape (*c*).

42. B.M. A 1317. Ht. ·28 m. Shoulder, ivy leaf. Graffito on shoulder νικο (? modern). From Camiros.

42*a*. 'A precisely similar' amphoriskos, though 'on neck rosettes,' is mentioned in *J.H.S.* 1885, 372, Lot 60. From Rhodes. On shoulder, graffito ιѵι: Jacobsthal (*G.G.A.* 1933, 1–2, 5) thinks this might be Lycian.

43. Rhodes 12978. Ht. ·275 m. Shoulder, tongues in compartments. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxviii fig. 192. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 422, 2 (in text, 3).

Grave group of last quarter of sixth century.

44. Rhodes 13440. Ht. ·22 m. Decoration as no. 42. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave c fig. 213.

Grave group of end of sixth century.

45. Rhodes 14114. Ht. ·37 m. Shoulder, segment-rosettes. From Fikellura. *Cl.Rh.* vi–vii Fik. grave lxxiv fig. 212.

This group is of the end of the sixth century.

Z. Miscellaneous Fragments.

1. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from shoulder (?) of big amphora. Large rosette of eight petals, alternately purple. From the Heraion.

Early second half of sixth century.

2. Oxford 1925.608*b*. f 2. Fragment from belly of amphora. Band of dot and billet: band of spaced stars: band of rosettes (?). Purple on inset rays of stars and dots of rosettes. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 13.

About the middle of the sixth century.

3. Kassel. Fragments, probably of oinochoe, from near base. Crescents of ordinary type: clumsy thick crescents, not tapering towards end and with applied purple. From Samos.

Enclosed Palmettes :

4. Oxford G 132.6. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Tongues: enclosed palmettes. Purple on occasional tongues and alternate leaves of palmettes. From Naucratis. *C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 11.

5. Leipzig. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Tongues: enclosed palmettes. Purple as on no. 4 (?). From Naucratis.

Third quarter of sixth century.

Zigzag Bands :

6. B.M. 1924.12–1.33. Fragment from near base of amphora. Wide horizontal zigzag band with T-shaped blobs as filling.[1] From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh. Probably Fikellura.

Not late.

7. B.M. 1924.12–1.34. Fragment from just below shoulder of amphora. Large vertical zigzags.[2] From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

Middle of second half of sixth century.

Ivy Leaf :

8. B.M. 1924.12–1.1052. Fragment from shoulder of amphora. Double ivy leaf: ? ear and scut of hare. From Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

9. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment from shoulder, probably of amphora. Small double ivy leaf. From the Heraion.

10. Samos, German Excavations. Fragment of lip of amphora. Outside, small ivy leaves on either side of wavy stem. Inside, several varnished bands. From the Heraion.

Etcetera :

11. B.M. 1924.12–1.1067. Fragment from near base of amphora. Five-petalled lotus flowers and buds, unjoined (see Fig. 13, 6). From Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis).

Third quarter of sixth century.

[1] This pattern, on a small scale, is not uncommon in Late 'Rhodian': *e.g.* the Munich sherd, Plate 17 *e*. Cf. also C 6.

[2] Cf. the amphoriskoi Y 25 and 34.

12. Boston 330.5. Fragment of neck of amphora. Lip, small lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Neck, triple cable. From Naucratis. Fairbanks pl. 36. A similar lip fragment, probably from the same vase, is in University College, London.

Not late.

13. ? . Fragment from belly. Dot and billet: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined. Purple dots at base of bud. The decoration is rather cramped. From Berezan.

Not late.

14. Sofia. Fragment of neck of small oinochoe. Thin crescents, occasionally purple. From Apollonia Pontica.

Early.

Misattributions.

Certain pieces have, I think, been wrongly listed as Fikellura. Boehlau nos. 50 and 52 (Louvre A 323 and 325) belong to a compact late ' Rhodian ' group collected by Rumpf (*J.d.I.* 1933, 72, *c*), and no. 51 (Louvre A 324) is also ' Rhodian.' Boehlau no. 27 (fig. 21) does not look like Fikellura. His nos. 53–55 appear rather earlier, but being miniature vases are difficult to parallel. His nos. 58 and 63 are definitely earlier. Hague Inv. T 2849 (*C.V.A. Hague* ii pl. 68, 5) belongs to a class of East Greek coarse ware. Oxford G 121.7 (*C.V.A. Oxford* ii pl. 397, 5) is probably freak Naucratite: it is certainly not Fikellura. Nor is it from an amphora, but from the shoulder of a dinos. The British Museum has another fragment of the same vase, which shows the lower parts of two comasts and the head of a griffin from the zone below (88.6–1.780).[1]

Technique.

The clay varies from grey to reddish-pink, once even to chocolate (F 1), and is rarely, if ever, fine or free from mica. There is always a slip, or an apology for a slip,[2] varying in colour from yellow to creamy white and pink, and often containing mica. It also varies in thickness and durability. The similarity to ' Rhodian ' A is great, though there on the whole the slip is somewhat whiter and more powdery than in Fikellura. The varnish ranges from brown-black to olive-brown and to red. At least part of this range is due to unequal firing: the Corinth olpe, B 16,

[1] Plate 10 *a*, *b*.

[2] Descriptions (*e.g.* those in *Cl.Rh.*) often omit slip. Berlin Inv. 2975 (L 7) is said to have no slip (*J.d.I.* 1886, 141), but is actually thinly slipped. Probably the same is true of the Hague amphora, E 2.

is a good example. On the Dionysos amphoriskos, Y 12, the varnish was thinned on the drapery, with excellent results, to a golden brown.[1] Purple is used for enhancement, but sparingly: it is very rarely, as on R 1, that it is put directly on the slip. White eyes and rosettes are painted on the lips of trefoil-mouthed oinochoai, exactly as in 'Rhodian'; and white dots are rarely placed on the borders of a dress (B 7 and K 8) or on the bodies of snakes (X 1). Incision is known once only, on the Gorgoneion of the Heraion cup (X 1).

The throwing of the shapes was competent and careless. Very few Fikellura pieces even appear symmetrical. Q 14 has an elliptical neck, and probably quite a quarter of the complete vases surviving have been dented, clearly before firing. The lip and neck were made in one piece and afterwards inserted into the body, the obtrusive edge forming a necking ring. The foot was a strip of clay added after the throwing of the body.

In the painting the care taken varies with the importance of each particular detail. In such an exact piece as the amphoriskos in Athens, Y 13, the line from which the rays spring has dropped considerably by the time it has made the circuit of the vase, and so there is an awkward difference in the depth of the rays. Simple encircling lines are generally erratic, and the bands of dots or strokes show much variation in width. Volutes, the larger ornamental motives and animals are often slapdash: where more than a simple stroke was required, the process was to draw first a thickish outline, then fill in carelessly, leaving (in the fauna especially) odd corners and patches unpainted. The result can be effective, for certainly no extra emphasis is given to minor features and there is no mechanical regularity of detail. It can also be dull and undistinguished, as on the later Running Man Group or the Volute Zone Group. Or irredeemably bad, as on many amphoriskoi in Rhodes.

Shapes.

The shapes used by the Fikellura potters are few. Those which are frequent are:

Amphora,
Oinochoe, } in the early period;
Cup with ring-foot, }
Amphoriskos (including two Lekythoi), mainly late.

Of the following a single example of each is extant:

[1] The coloured plate *Cl.Rh.* iv pl. 5 is adequate on this point.

Olpe,[1]	B 16.
Hydria, ...	G 15.
Cup with stemmed foot . .	X 1.

Amphora.

The amphora is the most common shape in Fikellura and varies little. The lip is regularly echinoid, with the exception of two vases in Rhodes and Boston (Q 6, Q 7) which have rounded lips. The neck narrows slightly towards the bottom and is marked off from the body by a plastic ring, which is, in fact, the overlap after the fitting of the neck on to the body. The handles are three-reeded and vertical. The angle of the shoulder has a wide range, even in the compact New York Group. Generally, one may say that the larger pieces tend to have the flatter shoulders. Shoulder and body usually meet at a fairly sharp angle. The body curves more or less pronouncedly to the foot, which has a simple straight profile.[2]

In the earlier East Greek Orientalising styles the amphora is not a common shape. The largest group, late ' Rhodian,' a specimen of which is illustrated in *J.d.I.* 1886, 140, has no demonstrable connection with the Fikellura shape. An amphora in the Louvre [3] affords a close parallel, particularly to the larger Fikellura amphorae of the Tarquinia Group. From a late seventh-century grave at Ialysos there is an amphora [4] which on shape might well pass as Fikellura: unfortunately the surface is destroyed. A fragment in Munich from Naucratis (PLATE 17 *e*) comes from the shoulder of an amphora of Fikellura shape, and is probably early sixth century.[5] But these vases are isolated and there is a considerable gap in time between them and Fikellura. A group of Aeolian amphorae [6] of the late seventh or early sixth centuries show a certain resemblance in the contour of the body, though the transition from shoulder to belly is slurred. On these the handles are set on the shoulder, the neck widens strongly to the flat lip, and there is no necking ring. Among the numerous Clazo-

[1] For other olpai see Payne *Necrocorinthia* 299. But the Fikellura olpe has no obvious connection. The ' Rhodian ' olpe is of very different shape: I know only three examples —Berlin Inv. 2931 (*J.d.I.* 1886, 139, fig. in text), Mykonos Rh. 15 (*Délos* xi pl. 42, *Vases Rhodo-ioniens* no. 15) and Turin (*J.H.S.* 1926 pl. 9, 2). An earlier East Greek olpe in close imitation of a Middle or Late Protocorinthian olpe is Rhodes 14709 (*Cl.Rh.* vi–vii 355 fig. 102).

[2] The shape is sufficiently distinctive to determine as Fikellura the vase Rhodes 13206 (*Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxxiv fig. 198; Camiros), the surface of which has almost completely perished. Jacopi and Jacobsthal (*G.G.A.* 1933, 12) say that this is a Fikellura amphora unslipped and unpainted. But there are definite traces of varnish, *e.g.* inside the lip.

[3] N 2342. From Camiros. *C.V.A. Louvre* i pl. 18, 12.

[4] Rhodes 1388. *Annuario* vi–vii grave iv p. 264 fig. 164. On the neck perhaps traces of meander and square. The handles are two-reeded.

[5] The zigzag band is rare in Fikellura; the running loop below unknown. I therefore consider this fragment late ' Rhodian.'

[6] *E.g.* Louvre B 561. From Myrina. *B.C.H.* 1884, 509, fig. in text.

menian amphora shapes there is one, of the early Clazomenian period, where the body is to some extent similar to Fikellura, and the handles are vertical and reeded. Other amphorae in Colmar and Rhodes [1] probably take their shapes from Fikellura.

One of the earliest Fikellura amphorae, from Tell Defenneh (B 1), has a body of shape approaching the oval and might represent a transitional stage to the canonical form. On the other hand, Rhodes 1338, the Munich sherd, and the amphora Louvre N 2342 and to a lesser degree the Myrina group suggest that that shape, at least for the body, was already known. It may well be connected with the middle 'Rhodian' oinochoe, particularly with large oinochoai such as the Lévy oinochoe, Louvre CA 350.[2] And certainly middle 'Rhodian' oinochoai contributed much to the Fikellura conventions—the form and decoration of the handles and the neck ornaments.

The amphorae R 4 and 12 stand apart. They may derive their shape from the late 'Rhodian' group just mentioned.

The amphora from Kremasto, F 5, is unique. It requires an illustration to do justice to its novelty.[3]

In the normal form the lip is decorated with strokes,[4] the handles with thick blobs,[5] the neck with cable pattern, meander cross or meander and square.[6] Cable patterns are more common in the earlier phases. Less common are lotus flowers and buds, eyes and vertical zigzags,[7]

[1] 1. Colmar. Bulle *A.A.* 1904, 49 fig. 1. From Camiros (?). 2. Rhodes 12892. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxiii fig. 177. From Camiros.

There is also an amphora in Berlin, Inv. 2987, of Fikellura shape; the reeds of the handles are, however, not properly distinct. Height about ·30 m. The vase was painted over with dark varnish in imitation of Bucchero in the same way as the oinochoe described on p. 57, n. 21: here no traces of earlier decoration are to be seen. From Rhodes. There is no evidence to determine the date of this piece.

[2] *C.V.A. Louvre* i pls. 22, 49.

[3] Rhodes 12976 is related to Fikellura: amphora of oval body and with cylindrical handles, set vertically. Ht. ·33 m. Clay, slip and varnish as normal in Fikellura. Lip, handles and foot varnished. Neck, scraggly palmette, terminating on each side in a lotus flower (neither ornament of ordinary Fikellura type). Shoulder, tongues. Belly, alternate thick and thin bands. From Makri Langoni, Camiros. *Cl.Rh.* iv grave lxxviii figs. 190, 191. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i pl. 421, 4. Found with the banded amphoriskos Y 43 and with an Attic Floral Band Cup: so probably end of sixth century. Shape and decoration distinguish this vase from Fikellura; but the technique is similar and there is no other group with which to connect it.

[4] Occasionally with ivy leaf—D 1, E 1 (?), Q 1: doubled—Z 10. Once with lotus flowers and buds, unjoined—Z 12. Inside the lip a band or two of varnish is painted.

[5] Once, L 16, the outer reeds are varnished, the inner reserved: as once, Y 13, the outer reeds reserved, the inner varnished. On E 7 the handles are 'solid black.'

[6] Simple meander—L 15.

[7] Lotus flowers and buds—E 7, M 2, PP 1 and another fragment from Berezan. Eyes—L 6, L 16. Vertical zigzags—P 7. For the eyes, cf. numerous 'Rhodian' stemmed dishes and eye bowls.

Sometimes the decoration of the two sides of the neck differs. The foot is varnished.

For the body there are various schemes. The oldest seems to be that of the amphorae of the Lion Group—narrow zones and the emphasis on the shoulder, as in 'Rhodian.' This persists into the Würzburg Group, the last group with narrow zone decoration. On other vases the emphasis is shifted to the belly, as, for instance, on the amphorae with processions of goats from Tell Defenneh and Mykonos (C 1 and 2) and on many of the vases with human figures. In the earlier zoned vases the zones are of about equal width: there is a tendency to widen the main zone of the belly, as in the Volute Zone Group.

Secondly, there is the free-field scheme, comparatively rare. The vases employing this scheme have been collected into the Running Man and Volute Free Groups.

Hydria.

The shape of the hydria in Mykonos (G 15) is, except for the handles, that of the amphora, of which it may be regarded as a bye-form.

Oinochoe.

The oinochoe is a frequent shape in early Fikellura. There is some variety of shape. The most common—S 1, S 6 and S 7 are published examples—resembles closely in the form of the body the much larger middle 'Rhodian' oinochoai.[1] In the Plain Body Group R 1 and R 3 have nearly spherical bodies (see PLATE 16 *a*); R 5*a* is more normal. To the two squat oinochoai (V 1, V 2) I can find no close parallel, but the shape is probably dictated by the size. There is a noticeable distinction between the typical 'Rhodian' and Fikellura shapes in the form of the neck. In 'Rhodian' the neck is narrow and slopes inward towards the mouth. The Fikellura neck is relatively wide and nearer the vertical. Closest of all 'Rhodian' oinochoai to Fikellura is B.M. A 691,[2] both in shape and

[1] The late 'Rhodian' oinochoe does not affect the Fikellura shape. Fikellura, here as often elsewhere, draws its origins from middle 'Rhodian.'

[2] Kinch fig. 130; PLATE 18. Ht. ·24 m. From Rhodes. There is an oinochoe of similar shape and size in the B. M., A 634 (64.10-7.1576), from Rhodes. On the body are traces of a band of meander decoration, as on C 1, an animal frieze and, below that, lotus flowers and buds approaching the Fikellura type. Of the animals a goat and a dog can be made out. The vase was later coated with a thick varnish and fired hard to imitate Bucchero; and since further the surface is damaged, it is impossible to make out details of the earlier decoration. Still, the general shape of the animals looks 'Rhodian' rather than Fikellura. Cf. the amphora described on p. 56, n. 1, at end.

A smaller oinochoe of similar shape is in the collection of the University of Birmingham. Bucchero with red and white decoration. Height to lip ·18 m. Neck, meander and square (?). Shoulder, lotus flowers and buds, unjoined; the flowers white, of normal Fikellura type, and the buds red, outlined in white and with white chevrons on them (see FIG. 13, 11). Belly, fine meander and square: buds, unjoined: longish red rays. Probably from Rhodes. This piece must be close to early Fikellura.

size; it is further related by the form of the tongues on the shoulder, by the bands of dot and cross and of billet and dot round the belly, by much of the filling-ornament and the decoration of the handles. The white eyes and rosettes on the lip of Fikellura oinochoai come straight from 'Rhodian,' both forms of the eye being found.[1]

The schemes of decoration employed are—1. Zone decoration, with the emphasis on the shoulder, as on the middle 'Rhodian' oinochoai generally. 2. Decoration confined to the shoulder (Plain Body Group). 3. The freak decoration of the Louvre Group. In all these the emphasis is on the shoulder, which confirms the impression given by excavations that the oinochoe is an early form in Fikellura.

FIG. 7.—SHAPE OF CUP, RECONSTRUCTED (SCALE ABOUT 2 : 3).

Cup.

The composite shape made up from the various fragments (FIG. 7) is a low cup with offset rim and ring foot,[2] of diameter of about ·13 to ·14 m. and decorated in zones, as are the East Greek cups of similar type,[3] from which the Fikellura shape is derived. The Fikellura cup is shallower and has a flatter curve, and generally is more elegant.

Amphoriskos.[4]

Amphoriskoi are after amphorae the most common shape of the late Fikellura period. On the whole the decoration is cursory and poor. The shape varies considerably and I have made four categories, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) for the main variations. (*a*) is a thick-set vase, strongly articulated and usually large; the handles are often two- or even three-reeded. (Normally the handles are flattish strips of clay.) In (*b*) the shape is

[1] *E.g.* the eye of 'natural' shape—S 1: the circular eye—R 1 (Pl. 16 *a*).

[2] Miss Price describes the shape as 'tiny phiale or bowl' and cites Boehlau pl. 8, 1 as an example of the shape (*C.V.A. Oxford* 2 p. 85 and *J.H.S.* 1924, 184). There is no evidence at all for phialai.

[3] *E.g.* Kinch pl. 18, 3, 7; 34, gr. 1, 7 (with Early and Middle Corinthian); Munich, Sieveking-Hackl 480, pl. 18 (see Kinch 58). These cups are much the same size as the Fikellura group.

[4] I have preferred the name amphoriskos to lekythos-amphora: amphoriskos suggests the derivation of the shape better.

slenderer and the articulation often less strong. (*c*) is the ordinary slender type, with roll-lip. (*d*) is a degeneration of (*c*), small and with very flat sides. Of (*a*) and (*b*) only four specimens were found with other recorded pottery—Y 7, 12 (the Dionysos amphoriskos), 12*a* and 16. Y 16 is from a grave group of the end of the third quarter of the sixth century; Y 7 is perhaps earlier, Y 12 and Y 12*a* are, I think, somewhat later. At Tell Defenneh and Naucratis, as far as I know, only two fragments of amphoriskoi came to light,[1] and both were from amphoriskoi of wide shape: on the whole the later phase of Fikellura is poorly represented in the finds outside Rhodes. On the other hand, amphoriskoi of shapes (*a*) and (*b*) have not been discovered in graves dating from the late sixth century in Rhodes. It seems then fair to assume that the strong shape is the earliest shape of the amphoriskos. Further, these amphoriskoi of shapes (*a*) and (*b*) have more in common with the amphora than with the small roll-lip amphoriskos; the Athens vase, Y 13, is the extreme instance and its neck decoration points to a date not long after the middle of the century. On these grounds I would derive the amphoriskos from the developed Fikellura amphora, and make the strongly articulated shapes intermediate to the small and slender vases of shape (*c*).[2]

The normal type of decoration is that with a broad band of reticulation of various, apparently arbitrary forms. Zone decoration without reticulation belongs to the earlier period of the amphoriskoi. Twice, on Y 12 and 12*a*, the free field system is borrowed from the amphora. Fourthly, there is the decoration of the body with simple bands—a type of decoration which seems to have arisen towards the end of the style. A number of amphoriskoi have on the shoulder segment-rosettes; this might be made the basis of a group, but it does not seem profitable to do so.

Two of the vases listed among the amphoriskoi have only one handle and are, therefore, strictly lekythoi (Y 15 and 39). Otherwise they do not differ from the typical amphoriskos of their class.

There is also a large group of amphoriskoi, mostly from Rhodes, which are generally unslipped and less clearly articulated than the amphoriskoi even of shape (*d*).[3] The decoration is confined to alternate bands of single thick and grouped thin lines; these bands often continue to the foot.[4] The neck and shoulder, however, are left plain, in contrast to the true Fikellura principle of decoration. They are presumably a

[1] But see Price *J.H.S.* 1924, 183.

[2] See PLATE 15 for a comparison of amphora and amphoriskos, shape (*a*).

[3] Illustrated in *Cl.Rh. passim.* For a specimen from outside Rhodes, see *Izv.* (*Arch. Komm.*) 35, 26 fig. 12: this vase has only one handle: from Taman or Kertsch. On the whole, vases of this group were not much exported.

[4] Cf. the small group of amphoriskoi, Y group 4.

coarse line, manufactured by Fikellura potters of the last quarter of the sixth century, mainly if not entirely in Rhodes. I have referred to them as Sub-Fikellura.

The proportion of amphoriskoi found in Rhodes is overwhelming. Rhodes must have been at least the chief place of manufacture for the amphoriskoi of groups 3 and 4 and of the Sub-Fikellura group.

Animals and Birds.

All the animals and birds represented on Fikellura vases are found in earlier classes of the Rhodian circle. The types have developed greatly, under the influence of B.F. technique, which the Lion Group is imitating in its more elaborate compositions. This difference of technique, besides the interval in time, makes comparison with earlier East Greek art difficult.[1] One of the most striking changes is that whereas 'Rhodian,' except where incision is used, and Naucratite A normally outline heads and draw in the details on the reserved ground, in Fikellura heads are in silhouette and the details are given by reservation. On the subsidiary zones the reservation is less meticulous and comparison more useful; but this affects only one type of bird. Later, indeed, fineness of technique ceased to interest the painter and there is a reversion to the older 'Rhodian' spirit; but it is from the Lion Group style that the later style is derived. In contrast to Clazomenian, Fikellura makes sparing use of purple and almost none of white, which in some classes of the former is employed to render inner detail. The two styles differ as much in spirit as in the media they prefer. Of contemporary styles it is only with the Ionian B.F. cups that Fikellura is in contact. The gap between them and the earlier East Greek styles has yet to be bridged. As transitional pieces there are only the Perseus plate [2] and the fragments of a large dish from the Samian Heraion.[3] On the plate the heads of Perseus and the dog are in full silhouette, with incision for detail. The heads on the dish are still outlined and the animals are true to the 'Rhodian' type: only in the third zone is a new spirit visible—a man on one knee is trying to stab a boar, while his dog stands prudently behind on his shoulder. Both these pieces belong, I suppose, to about 575. The incised experiments of earlier East Greek art are disregarded. The connection, such as it is, is with the unincised styles.

On the middle 'Rhodian' oinochoai the dominant animal is the goat, less often the deer, in a processional scheme. The more elaborate

[1] Excepting the isolated Vathy fragment (A 1).

[2] Berlin F 3917. Diameter ·275 m. From Camiros. Salzmann pl. 55. Brunn *Kunstgesch. in Bildern* i, fig. 111; Zervos fig. 333. See p. 67. Plate 19.

[3] Samos, German Excav. Outer zone, goats; second zone, lions; third zone, boar hunt; fourth zone, palmettes. Germ. Inst. in Athens, photograph no. 1180.

pieces have, on the shoulder, compositions of lion and bull, sphinx and geese, etc. On some of these vases the belly zone is of dogs chasing hares, or goats or deer. Fikellura has generally abandoned the procession of goats for dogs, usually pursuing hares. The 'Rhodian' plates are intermediate. There admittedly the conventional decoration of the plate demanded single figures or a small group, but the most popular figures are the dog and the sphinx, while the goat is rare [1] and the deer perhaps does not occur at all.

The list of the Fikellura fauna is as follows: [2]

Lion, Panther, Bull, Boar, Dog, Deer, Goat, Hare, Dolphin, Sphinx, Griffin, Partridge, Duck, long-legged Bird (once classifiable as a Crane).

Lion. Two types of lion occur in Fikellura—the Vathy lion and the Tell Defenneh lion. They bear little resemblance to each other in technique and structure. The Vathy [3] lion is close to the lion on a plate found in Nisyros,[4] but it is at present impracticable to make it a stage in an organic development from the 'Rhodian' to the Tell Defenneh type of lion. There are three extant specimens of the Tell Defenneh type (B 1, 2, and 4),[5] and two more may be assumed on the analogy of the composition for B 3 and 5: and there may have been another on B 7. The only close parallel is on the cup fragment from the Samian Heraion.[6]

Panther. There are four specimens extant, three of which agree closely (B 1, 2, and 3),[7] while the fourth (B 5) differs in the marking on the forehead and the curve of the back. There is a distinction in the drawing of the mask between the Fikellura form and that adopted in most other Greek styles. In Corinthian, Attic, Laconian, 'Rhodian' A,[8] Clazomenian [9] and the Situlae [10] the two lines marking the nose are continued up between the eyes and curl round towards the ears. In Fikellura these lines terminate at the inner corners of the eyes and the forehead markings are independent. This form is also found in Pontic [11] and, as

[1] *E.g. Cl.Rh.* vi–vii 541 fig. 81; from Nisyros and probably local. *Ib.* 63 fig. 63; from Papatislures, Camiros.

[2] Miss Price, *East Greek Pottery* 21, records a centaur, which unfortunately I have not been able to trace.

[3] A 1 (PLATE 14 *b*).

[4] See pp. 4–5.

[5] B 1 (PLATE 2 *c*); B 2 (PLATE 3 *b*). For another lion see pp. 93–5.

[6] See p. 7.

[7] PLATE 1 *f* (B 1) and PLATE 3 *b* (B 2). Another panther may be assumed for B 4.

[8] On the Vlastos oinochoe. So also with the pantheress on the oinochoe in Leningrad (Rayet and Collignon fig. 30).

[9] *Tanis* II, pl. 31, 18 and 19.

[10] B.M. 88.2–8.26; from Tell Defenneh.

[11] Ducati *Pontische Vasen, passim.*

one would expect, on an Ionian B.F. handleless cup in Kassel.[1] In East Greek sculpture of the first half of the sixth century the Lycian Lion Tomb [2] shows a similar scheme for the mask; the whelp is the closest. Shortly after the middle of the century comes the panther scalp worn by the man on a sculptured drum from Ephesos.[3] There are also closely related some electrum and silver coins probably of Samos, on which the obverse type is the head or scalp of a lion,[4] for such it must be since numismatics do not recognise the convention of frontal panthers.

Bull. The bull occurs once only (B 2),[5] being mauled by a lion. The representation is not entirely successful. The folds of the skin behind the foreleg are rendered, as never in 'Rhodian' or Naucratite.

Boar. The boar also occurs only once (B 1).[6] The spinal crest is continuous,[7] as on the Samos dish. In 'Rhodian,' Naucratite and Aeolian [8] boars usually have silhouette heads; the detail also is much clumsier and the type less athletic than here.

Dog. Three main types of dog are found in Fikellura, two early and one late. Of the earlier types one is confined to the conventional chase; it has ears set back and a long thin muzzle and is hastily executed. From this, by way of the Corinth olpe (B 16), the Würzburg type of later Fikellura is evolved, where the neck is reserved. The amphora of the Würzburg group, M 1, shows another intermediate type of dog. The stages of this transition are represented on Fig. 8. The other early type of dog is preserved only on two amphorae, B 1 and 2:[9] the muzzle is stronger and the ears more upright, as on the much later amphora L 19. The dogs of B 1 have collars.[10] Those of B 2 are nearer to the harriers on the belly of these two vases. Perhaps the canine type might join with the

[1] Kassel T 434. Lion, panther, siren. Shortly after 550.
[2] B.M. B 286. *B.M. Cat. Sculpture* figs. 176, 177.
[3] B.M. B 90. *Op. cit.* fig. 41.
[4] Head *Cat. Ionia* pl. 1, 1; 3, 22; 34, 4, 5 and 6.
[5] Plate 3 *b*. For a second specimen see p. 93.
[6] Plate 1 *f*.
[7] Furtwängler *Kl.Schr.* I 488 observes that a break in the centre of the spinal crest is characteristic of the Ionian type of boar. This is true for 'Rhodian,' Naucratite and Clazomenian.
[8] Stamboul 6574: from Larissa.
[9] Plates 2 *b*, 3 *a*.
[10] Cf. the Naucratite fragment in the British Museum, illustrated in *J.H.S.* 1924 pl. 10, 8. The Fikellura collar is certainly a genuine collar: the style does not go in for fancy decoration on its figures. Attic B.F. dogs of the middle and third quarter of the sixth century often wear collars, sometimes on a lead (*e.g.* Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 19 *b*). On Laconian vases of the early sixth century dogs with collars are found chasing foxes without collars (*e.g.* the cups Louvre E 663=*C.V.A. Louvre* 1 pl. 25, 4, and B.M. B 7). The same distinction holds generally for Protocorinthian and Corinthian, though the Chigi vase (Payne *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* pl. 27) shows hares with what on dogs might be considered collars.

more oval shape of B 1 as arguments for a date slightly earlier than B 2. Twice there are bitches (W 6 [1] and F 1)—a good example of the Fikellura artist's livelier attention to detail. A few of the earlier East Greek dogs [2] approach the Fikellura type.

Deer. The fallow deer continues, though never very common, throughout the Fikellura animal style. No great care is taken over it. It is either on one knee or, less frequently, running.[3] The treatment of hoof and ear and the proportions are much as on 'Rhodian' and Naucratite.

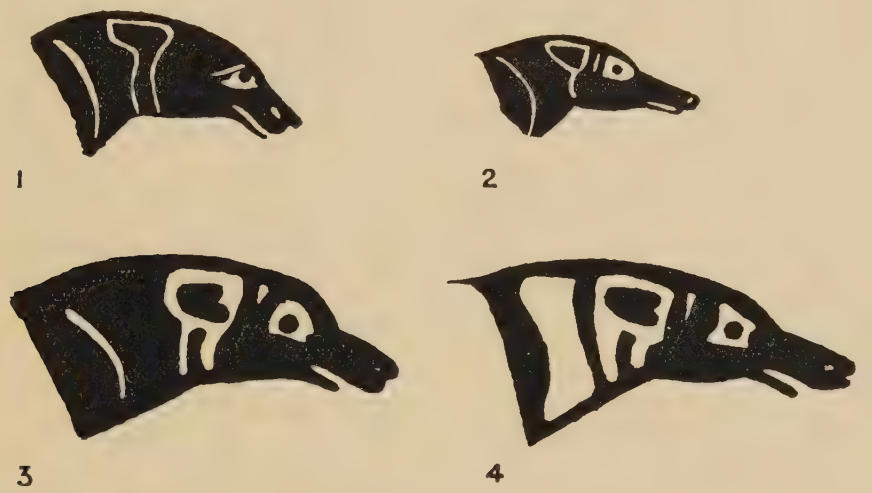

FIG. 8.—TYPES OF DOG: 1. LION GROUP I (B 1, B 2). 2. LION GROUP II (B 16, B 17). 3. M 1. 4. WÜRZBURG TYPE (M 1). (SCALE 1 : 1.)

Goat. Much the same holds good for the goat as for the deer. It is frequent in groups with sphinxes; or, where the main group is insufficient to complete the frieze, an extra goat stands idly by.

Hare. 'Rhodian' and Naucratite hares are usually in outline with the body variegated with dots, and they generally have two ears. The Fikellura hare is in silhouette with sparing reservation. This type continues throughout the animal style, with the usual modifications to economise the labour of drawing. The painter of the Running Man amphora characteristically distorts the legs and raises the forequarters of his hares (L 4, 5 and 5*a*), and thus achieves an effect of leaping. He also, alone of Fikellura painters, gives his hares two ears.

[1] PLATE 1 *a*, *c*.

[2] *E.g.* Naucratite, fragment in B.M. (*J.H.S.* 1924, 211 fig. 43) and a fragment in Aegina. From Rhodes, the Perseus plate (PLATE 19). From Samos, the Boar hunt dish (p. 60, n. 3). For a contemporary East Greek dog, see p. 7, and n. 2.

[3] On Y 12 *a* looking back.

Dolphin. This animal comes once into Fikellura, on the cup X 1. The slim form and the markings of the body resemble most closely the dolphins of the cup by Exekias.[1] Earlier East Greek and Attic dolphins [2] are much heavier in build.

Sphinx. The six Fikellura sets of sphinxes in this list (D 1 and 2, E 1, F 1 and 2, T 4, of which D 2 and F 1 are headless and badly damaged) are stylistically unrelated to each other or to any of the human figures. They occur grouped in pairs about a goat or a volute complex. D 1 and E 11 have supposed, from the general composition of the amphorae to which they belong, to be from the same workshop. All are in a stationary position with one fore-leg raised,[3] never walking or down on their fore-legs, as many 'Rhodian' sphinxes are, or squatting, as the sphinxes on Naucratite pottery. The spiral has now disappeared from the head, and the lower outline of the wing has become a simple curve.[4] The Fikellura sphinx is very remote from its East Greek predecessors.

Griffin. A pair of griffins deputise for sphinxes on one side of the Tarquinia amphora (D 1). The head, compared with the head of the griffin on a 'Rhodian' plate in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 75), shows a considerable development of the beak, which on the plate makes an unbroken curve with the head.[5] Now the forehead bulges and makes a sharp angle with the strongly hooked beak, thus giving a profile similar to that of mid-sixth century bronze griffin protomes from Samos.

Partridge. The partridge, which occurs no fewer than ten times (C 5, 6, 7, F 3, 4, 5, J 12, K 1, T 4, W 7),[6] is a striking bird and easily drawn. The similarity between different specimens is not cogent enough to permit the connection of vases which otherwise have little in common. They belong to the earlier period of Fikellura. The only definitely earlier partridge I know of is that on the Naucratite fragment in Cambridge.[7]

[1] Munich 2044. F.R. I, pl. 42: Pfuhl fig. 231: Buschor *Greek Vase-Painting* fig. 93.

[2] Stebbins *Dolphin in Literature of Greece and Rome*; list of dolphins on vases, pp. 97–115 (and p. 13, n. 20). Add to her East Greek list, besides this recently discovered piece, a small plate from Rhodes, Berlin, Arch. Sem. d. Univ. D 82. A decapod and, below, a dolphin. Full silhouette. The Fikellura dolphin is of the 'Simple Curvilinear type.'

[3] So the relief from Miletus, Berlin 1614 (*Stephanos für Wiegand* 8–9: Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 136 *b*).

[4] As are the wings of the Boreads, B 7 and X 1. The wing of the dog-headed monster, K 9, is in contrast scalloped.

[5] For a 'Rhodian' example of the distinction between beak and forehead, cf. Louvre A 1007 (*C.V.A. Louvre* 1 pl. 21, 10). On the whole, in 'Rhodian' the angle is less pronounced. For another set of sphinxes and griffins see pp. 93–5.

[6] Plates 7 *b* (J 12), 8 *e* (K 1), 14 *c* (T 4).

[7] N 94–6.89, G 24. *J.H.S.* 1924, 213 fig. 51: *C.V.A. Cambridge* 2 pl. 18, 45. See Payne *Necrocorinthia* 174 n. 1. To his list may also be added a partridge on the R.F. headpiece of a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Athens, and another on a late archaic relief from Thasos in Stamboul (no. 576); a banqueting scene—the partridge is placed below the

There is also a partridge on a situla [1] from Tell Defenneh. Pontic presumably gets its partridges from Fikellura.

Ducks and Long-legged Birds. The ducks are of two main types. One inherits from the ' Rhodian ' oinochoai, simplifying the head and feet but retaining in essentials the treatment of the folded wing.[2] The second type, which is related to the Ionian B.F. cups,[3] has running up from the tail a reserved band and across the wing, raised or folded, two reserved lines, between which purple may be applied.[4] On oinochoai the birds are small and neat. Generally they are negligent and the reservation restricted. The larger birds are of this second type. On the Rubensohn fragment (K 2) they must be cranes: elsewhere we have no evidence of their species. The amphora C 1 shows both types of bird, as well as a cross between them, while one bird exhibits two plumes and a spiral crest at the back of the head—perhaps a reminiscence of the ' Rhodian ' sphinx. The second type seems, from extant fragments, to be slightly earlier and to continue longer. Sometimes, particularly towards the end of the animal style, appear birds in full silhouette except, but by no means always,[5] for the eye. The amphora L 15 has also a clumsy bird, of which the front of the body is reserved and flecked.[6]

Compositions.

The antithetical composition belongs to the earlier phases. There is first that of the early Lion Group, a lion and a panther grouped on either side of a bull or boar—once the lion has seized its prey; the panthers, as usual, are spectators. Or two dogs round a goat or deer. Secondly, two sphinxes threaten a goat [7] or confront a volute complex. This is a favourite grouping and lasts later. Superfluous space is occupied by goats or partridges; the latter, it may be accidentally, are found in antithetical groups only with sphinxes.

Little need be said about the processional. It begins as a subsidiary zone in the Lion Group, is soon promoted to the chief place when elaborate animal scenes are abandoned, and continues as long as the Fikellura animal style lasts.

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stool on which a woman is seated. There is a Laconian plastic vase in the shape of a partridge, but without the barring on the breast, in Sparta; cf. *infra* p. 156 and PLATE 37 *c*.

[1] B.M. B 106^{10}; *Tanis* II pl. 26, 9. On the dating of the situlae see Rumpf *J.d.I.* 1933, 66.

[2] *E.g.* C 2. PLATE 4 *c* (of C 1) shows the body markings of this type, except that a long reservation has been added below.

[3] *E.g.* B.M. 88.6–1.411; *J.H.S.* 1924, 183 fig. 3; Kunze, *A.M.* 1934, 92–3 no. 7, Beil. 7, 1.

[4] *E.g.* K 2, PLATE 9. [5] *E.g.* G 1, PLATE 15 *a*. [6] FIG. 2. See also pp. 93–4.

[7] Once, D 1, two griffins and a deer. So too B1*a*, pp. 93–5.

Both forms of composition come down from ' Rhodian,' where their relative frequency and disposition are similar.

Human and Sub-Human Figures.

On the available evidence it is not possible to construct a systematic development in the rendering of the human form, if indeed it ever was systematic. Two main types emerge. The first is that of the Cambridge and Altenburg groups, of spare forms without much refinement of detail. The nostril is indicated by a broad reserved arc, the eyebrow by a simple line; the eye, summarily rendered, varies in shape, even on the same vase (*e.g.* J 6); the mouth often sags; the full chin, projecting under the prominent lower lip, has a simple contour; the ear is given by an oval or a circle, occasionally not completed.[1] The hair is outlined by a line from the forehead, where it makes a small peak, to the ear, and usually continued to the back of the head, which sometimes joins the neck at an angle, sometimes passes in an unbroken curve to the shoulder (both forms on J 1). The torso is still somewhat triangular and frontal, except on the Smyrna sherd (S 8). The face is always strictly in profile. Detail on the body is confined to the neck, the outlines of limbs where they cross the body and of the optional loin-cloths (on the Smyrna fragment, of a chiton). Purple is sometimes used on the hair and on loin-cloths.

The Rubensohn and Heraion fragments (K 2 and 3) show no great advance in technique. The chin is here double, the forms more protuberant, especially so on the Rubensohn fragment, and the genitals are sometimes exposed. But that plumpness is not necessarily a sign of later date is proved by the Boread on the fragment in University College, London (B 7), which belongs to the Lion Group and would even because of the woman's hip be earlier. The later fragments of very fine technique show an increased attention to, and use of, detail. The types are the fuller double-chinned types of the London and Rubensohn fragments. The individual differences between the fragments and the small size of most make comparisons futile.

The Running Man painter produces a strikingly original figure on his masterpiece (L 1). As on his hares, he strives after effect without undue regard for accuracy or convention. The linea alba is aesthetically necessary to bind together the lower and upper parts of the body. The Lanckoronski man (L 2) is after this very tame and conventional.

The Boreads of the Heraion cup (X 1) have knee details, as has Dionysos (Y 12), and perhaps the dog-headed man (K 9). This last-named monster imitates B.F. in the rendering of inner details.

Of earlier East Greek styles only Naucratite has a predilection for

[1] Both forms on the same vase, J 6.

human figures, and there is a certain superficial correspondence in facial type, shared with the plastic vases of the Gorgoneion group; but in Fikellura besides the difference in technique—Naucratite B is under foreign influences—there is a difference in conception. The nearest parallels are on ' Rhodian ' vases. The dish fragment from Samos [1] in treatment of the body is well on the way to Fikellura, but the face is still reserved. The nearest parallel is the Perseus plate.[2] The head of Perseus is very near indeed. Cut off the quiff and substitute reservation for incision, and it would pass for Fikellura. On most of the other ' Rhodian ' heads [3] the face is reserved and the features sharper. In contemporary art the man on the Vineyard cup [4] is truly Fikellura. Other parallels are remote.

The representation of the human figure is simple and requires little inner detail. The artist draws head and limbs strictly in profile, the torso either frontally or, later, also in profile. The Alexandria figure, K 8,[5] and the Dionysos of Y 12 alone attempt a more difficult view of the body, presumably under Attic influence. Elaborate symplegmata are also avoided, the solitary example being the Cambridge pickaback (H 1); [6] and even the crossing of an arm over the body is infrequent.

The coiffure takes three main forms. It is cropped—most frequently; tied in a krobylos; [7] or hangs in a queue behind,[8] as on the Perseus and Ephesos plates and the dish from Samos. The krobylos is of the type found in Attic from the François vase on.[9] The Fikellura form is more spreading, and perhaps related to the Clazomenian krobylos.[10] A few

[1] See p. 60, n. 3.

[2] See p. 60, n. 2 and PLATE 19.

[3] The fragmentary plate from Ephesos with man, spear and bush (Achilles?) is near to the Perseus plate; it is in silhouette with reserved details (Stamboul 4156–8 and B.M. 1907.12–1.770; the B.M. fragments illustrated in Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus* fig. 53). In B.F. technique: Oxford 1925, 608, d. 1; fragment of a late ' Rhodian ' dish; head of flautist; from Naucratis; *C.V.A. Oxford* 2 pl. 395, 18.

Outline heads: from Rhodes, B.M. A 749, the Euphorbos plate (Schaal *Bilderhefte* III pl. 5, 8; etc.); Berlin Inv. 3724, Rider plate (Prinz pl. 3 *a*; Neugebauer pl. 17). ' Rhodian,' B.M. A 721, fragment of dinos, from Naucratis (*J.H.S.* 1924, 193 fig. 21). Aeolian, *e.g.* Louvre B 561 (*B.C.H.* 1884 pl. 7; *Cl.Rh.* vi/vii 209 fig. 251). From Marseilles, Vasseur pl. 5, 5.

[4] See p. 3, and n. 3–5.

[5] PLATE 10 *d*.

[6] PLATE 8 *a*.

[7] B 7 (PLATE 10 *c*), J 12, K 8 (PLATE 10 *e*). It is difficult to make out the exact form of S 12 (Fig. 6): it seems to be a krobylos.

[8] So the Berezan satyr (K 1; PLATE 8 *e*), who has side locks also; and Dionysos (Y 12). On sphinxes the hair hangs loose: on F 2 (PLATE 14 *a*) the ends of the locks are shown.

[9] *E.g.* François vase—Moirai and various female figures (F.R. I, pl. 1). Exekias, Amasis painter, Antimenes painter, Berlin painter, etc. Laconian, cup in Taranto of 530–520 (F.R. III p. 212, fig. in text). Caeretan, cf. Webster *J.H.S.* 1928 nos. 11, 16 and 18.

[10] As on the krater from Cyme in Aeolis, B.M. 1904, 6–1, 1 (*R.M.* 1888 pl. 6); and on several B.F. sarcophagi.

figures are bearded.[1] Dress, when worn, is usually the loin-cloth. A few figures wear a long chiton (B 7, K 8, Y 12);[2] Ares (Y 12) is in full East Greek armour; and the Olbia comasts (K 4) have bands crossing over the chest.

The favourite scene is the simple-minded masculine comos,[3] in conventional postures of ebriety, grouped about a dinos. The stands on which these dinoi rest are of bewildering variety.[4] The other properties are castanets, flutes, cups, phialai, oinochoai, a kantharos and an amphora.[5] Once, on the Samos comos (K 3), a strange superstructure looms in the field. Feet of cups and oinochoai are rendered arbitrarily in profile or in section.[6] The elaborate dress of the Alexandria figure (K 8) suggests a more dignified occasion. What the Boreads and women on B 7 are doing, it is hard to say. Definitely mythological is the Geranomachy of the Rubensohn fragments (K 2); and 'Busiris' also is presumably from a mythological composition. Dionysos and Ares are an excerpt from mythology; and so possibly are the Running Man and the hare-headed man.[7]

Women are rare, occurring only on B 7, S 8 and S 12.[8] The flesh is treated as on men. Boreads appear on two vases (B 7 and X 1).[9] Satyrs also twice (K 1 and 6):[10] the features are coarsened. Pigmies once (K 2):[11] the features do not differ from those of the comasts on the other shoulder, unless the greater depth of face on the clean-shaven pigmy is deliberate. The hare- and dog-headed monsters (L 3: K 9) are unique. On S 12 (Fig. 6) human heads are used as a neck ornament; and on C 2 an outline head is sketched on the inside of the neck.

[1] K 1 (Plate 8 *e*), K 2 (Plate 9), K 3, L 2 (Plate 13), Y 12.

[2] B 7 (Plate 10 *c*), K 8 (Plate 10 *e*).

[3] There are no signs of sexual excitation about any extant Fikellura figures—of the satyrs, of course, only the heads are preserved. This contrasts strongly with Clazomenian. Naucratite vase-painting shows a similar decorum, though here are parts of two phallus-vases in the B.M. (88.6–1.496 and *bis*: from Naucratis) and of one in Athens (Acropolis Museum).

[4] Cf. H 1, J 1 and K 3.

[5] Castanets, K 5 (Plate 8 *c*): kantharos, J 4: amphora, J 1 (Plate 5 *a*).

[6] *E.g.* on same vase, H 1.

[7] Y 12, L 1 and L 3. See remarks in *Catalogue*.

[8] Plates 10 *c* and 8 *d* and Fig. 6.

[9] B 7 (Plate 10 *c*).

[10] K 1 (Plate 8 *e*).

[11] Plate 9.

Vegetable and Abstract Ornament.

1. *Filling-Ornament.*
2. *Dividing Bands.*
3. *Cable Patterns.*
4. *Meanders.*
5. *Crescents.*
6. *Enclosed Palmette.*
7. *Buds.*
8. *Pomegranates.*
9. *Myrtle Wreath.*
10. *Ivy Leaf.*
11. *Tongue Pattern.*
12. *Chevrons.*
13. *Rays.*
14. *Ribbon Pattern.*
15. *Stalked Rosette.*
16. *Lotus Flowers and Buds.*
17. *Star and Overlapping Star.*
18. *Scale Pattern.*
19. *Diagonal Decoration.*
20. *Zigzags.*

1. *Filling-Ornament.* The 'Rhodian' tradition is particularly evident in the filling-ornament, sparsely used but of great variety and almost always paralleled on 'Rhodian' oinochoai or dishes or on the nondescript East Greek cups referred to above.[1] Of the period immediately before Fikellura we unfortunately know very little; what evidence we have suggests that East Greek fashions in filling-ornament were arbitrary. The filling-ornament in Fikellura is small, which accounts for the omission of some favourite 'Rhodian' types. On vases of the Altenburg Group with single large animals it is sometimes correspondingly larger. The full-sized lotus flower of the Vathy Lion fragment (A 1) [2] is, as one would expect on a transitional piece, on a larger scale than would be permitted later. For the most part the corresponding forms are obvious: and where 'Rhodian' offers no exact parallel, the derivation is straightforward.

For convenience the filling-ornaments have been drawn out on Fig. 9, and references are made by their numbers there. 6 generally has alternate petals purple; it is sometimes large, but then it is a principal ornament in its zone, as 32 and 33 always are. 20 occurs infrequently on 'Rhodian' and comes probably from 20*a*,[3] which is not found in Fikellura. 21 is of the same origin. 24 is more remote from 'Rhodian.' The lotus flower, 25, is one of the commoner filling-ornaments, and varies greatly in form: once (26) dots are added. Most often it hangs from the upper boundary of the field: sometimes it is free, and sometimes springs on a stem from the base-line or from a volute. 27 occurs only

[1] See pp. 38, 58.

[2] Plate 14 *b*.

[3] From Smyrna, *Ö.Jh.* 1932 Beiblatt fig. 92, 15, 19 and 7 (here together with 20*a*); *J.H.S.* 1924 pl. 8, 16. Apparently a late form. A fragment in the B.M., 86.4–1.1053, gives the form 20*a* with dots.

once, on a cup (W 1). The ancestor of these flowers is a type (27 *a*) found hanging from the rim of many cups of Bird Bowl type (Miss Price's I B, *East Greek Pottery* 2). The large bud 30, with or without heft—not, I think, a 'Rhodian' form—is frequent in the contemporary East Greek styles.[1] 31 is a degeneration of this. For 33 see p. 75.

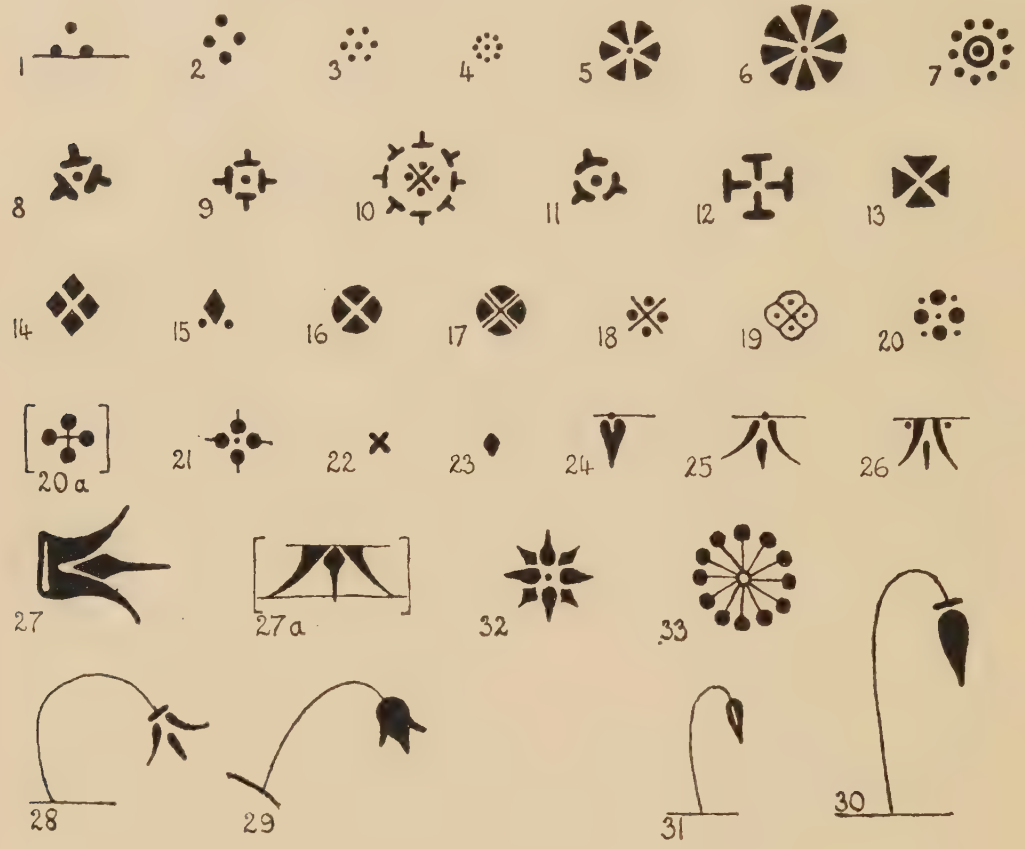

Fig. 9.—Fikellura Filling-Ornaments.
(Not to scale.)

The choice of filling-ornament is arbitrary—for instance, on the amphoras B 1 and 2 different sets are used on the shoulder and on the belly—and it is not practicable to use it to arrange at all precisely the vases on which it occurs. Generally speaking, filling-ornament is commoner, more various and finer at the outset of the style.

[1] On Clazomenian, *e.g.* the krater from Cyme in Aeolis (p. 67, n. 10). Sculpture, a relief from Miletus, Berlin 1614 (*Stephanos für Wiegand* 8–9: Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 136 *b*).

2. *Dividing Bands.* (See Fig. 10, to which the numbers refer.) 5, the usual division in Fikellura between two zones, is a row of blobs of varying size and care. 6, made of short strokes, springing alternately from the upper and lower bounding lines, is less common.[1] 7, the dot and billet pattern, appears on several amphorae of the New York Group and occasionally elsewhere: 8 is found only on U 3, 9 on X 1, 10 on P 5. Small hook-meanders or simple meander-bands are sometimes used. The Fikellura practice contrasts strongly with the 'Rhodian.' In middle 'Rhodian' zones are generally separated by a narrow varnished band (1), which is sometimes enhanced by a purple stripe (2). In late 'Rho-

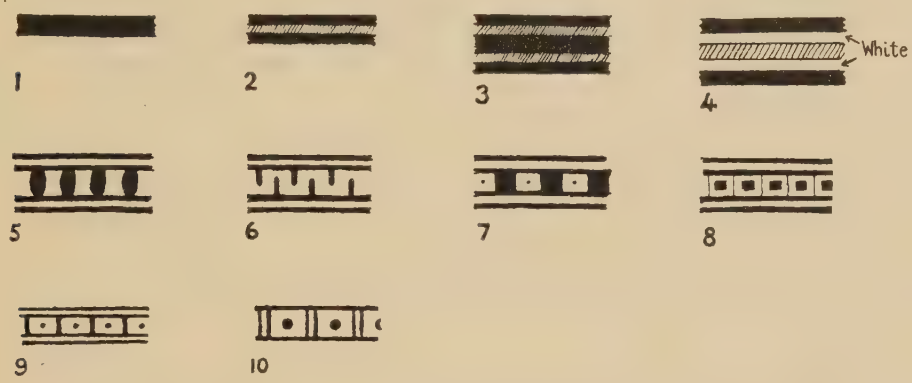

Fig. 10.—'Rhodian' and Fikellura Dividing Bands (Hatching represents Purple). (Not to scale.)

dian' the varnished band is broader, with purple or with white and purple enhancement (3 and 4). 7 and 8 are frequently used on late 'Rhodian' A plates and deep dishes; the former occurs on the oinochoe of Fikellura shape, B.M. A 691.[2] And 5 is found on the rims of Naucratite chalices. But on the whole the use of these Fikellura forms in 'Rhodian' is in terminal rather than in dividing bands, while dishes and plates are more heavily decorated than oinochoai. Some fragments from Ephesos[3] afford the best parallel to the Fikellura usage.

3. *Cable Patterns* (Fig. 11). The two main types are the closed cable, usually two deep and a regular decoration for the neck; and the single open cable, often called the Running Dog. *Closed cable* patterns are common in 'Rhodian,' but the Fikellura form has abandoned the large dots of late 'Rhodian' at the angles at the top and bottom of the

[1] Compare the fragment of an Ionian B.F. cup in Samos (p. 7, n. 2).

[2] Plate 18.

[3] Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* pl. 49 and fig. 45. But these are unrepresentative of the pottery from Ephesos.

cable. Purple is sometimes added on an occasional file of the central dots. Twice a single form is used on the shoulder of an amphora (B 2 and 7). Y 14 and 15 have a skeleton variety. The *open cable* appears occasionally on necks, but properly belongs to the angle of the shoulder and body. In Fikellura it first appears in the Mykonos Group, in preference to the more laborious closed form of B 2 and 7. In the Würzburg Group it is a stock ornament. Cable patterns have on the whole degenerated in Fikellura from the earlier East Greek forms. This is well

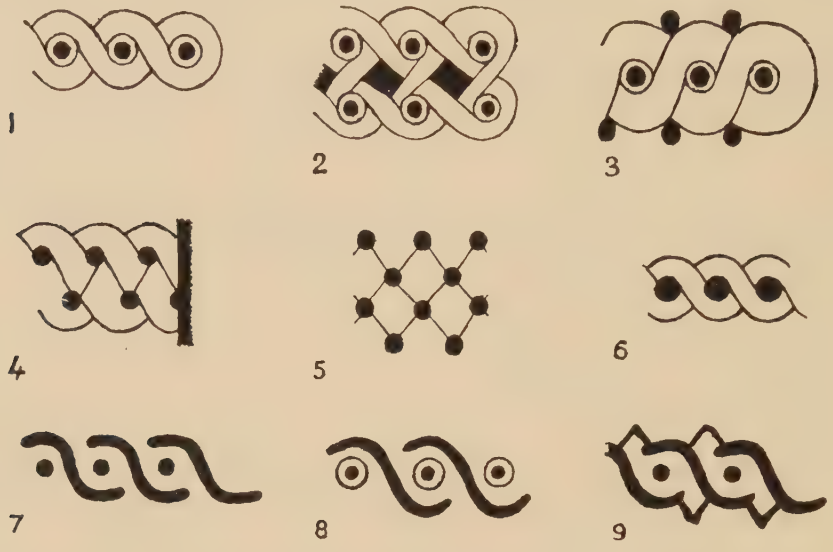

FIG. 11.—'RHODIAN' AND FIKELLURA CABLE PATTERNS.
(Not to scale.)

1. Normal Middle 'Rhodian.'
2. Naucratite A, and found occasionally in Middle 'Rhodian.'
3. Normal Late 'Rhodian.'
4. Fikellura: normal double form.
5. Fikellura: skeleton quadruple cable.
6. Fikellura: single closed cable (on shoulder, B 2, B 7; the form on the neck is rather coarser): in Middle 'Rhodian' as variant of 1.
7. Fikellura: open cable ('running dog'): found occasionally in Late 'Rhodian.'
8. Fikellura: variant of 7 (D 2, E 2, L 8, Q 13).
9. Fikellura: another variant of 7 (M 6).

shown by the ending in a closed field. In 'Rhodian' and Naucratite the cable is neatly rounded off; in Fikellura it disappears abruptly under the bands of varnish that bound the field—compare FIG. 11, 1–3 and 4.

Cable complexes are confined to the Plain Body Group. They have been dealt with on p. 38.

4. *Meanders.* Different meander forms appear on different parts of vases. On the neck are either the meander and square (on oinochoai

close to the 'Rhodian,' simplified on amphorae[1]), or else the meander cross, a Fikellura innovation, frequent on amphorae and amphoriskoi. On the body the meander and square is used on early vases, at the shoulder angle or lower on the belly; the form is that found on the necks of oinochoai. The simple meander is rare.[2] The hook meander is common, much smaller than the 'Rhodian' form common on dishes and banded oinochoai[3] of the late seventh and early sixth centuries. Once, on N 1, it is used to bind the volutes.

5. *Crescents.* This is one of the most typical ornaments of the style and appears at much the same time on a class of Clazomenian vases, where, however, the crescents are painted alternately red and white and lack the elegance they attain in Fikellura. Laconian probably borrows the crescent from Fikellura, since crescents do not appear in that style till after the middle of the century.[4] In the Geometric period crescents had been used similarly in zones; but the only form in which they were common in the intermediate period was the whirligig—in Corinthian and Attic on shields and the bottom of pots, and in Naucratite on shields. Possibly it is from the whirligig that the Fikellura and Clazomenian crescents are derived.[5] Once invented this easily drawn ornament remained popular to the end. Purple is occasionally applied in the early phase. Once crescents are found on a neck, Z 14. Otherwise they are confined to the belly.

6. *Enclosed Palmette.* This ornament, which is occasionally found in 'Rhodian,'[6] is used either on the shoulder or on the belly of amphorae. Where enough of the vase remains to determine the context, it generally comes immediately above or below a band of careful animal or figure decoration;[7]

[1] On P 7 the members are unjoined.

[2] On neck of amphora, L 15, and a small amphoriskos, Y 10: on body, B 17, E 7, J 11.

[3] *E.g.* Kinch figs. 131, 132. In late 'Rhodian' the form is still larger, *e.g. ib.* fig. 114.

[4] Attic and Corinthian crescents, independent or in whirligigs, are polychrome. It is therefore more probable that Laconian derives its crescents from Fikellura than from them.

[5] On the other hand, the crescent occurs sporadically in the seventh and early sixth centuries elsewhere than in a whirligig. For instance, there is a rudimentary form on the outer zone of an early plastic shield from Samos (Technau *A.M.* 1929 Beil. 15, 1; and *ibid.* 26, where the comparison with Fikellura is made). There are a few examples of the use of polychrome crescents in Attic; *e.g.* Graef I, 454–456, pl. 25, and on a fragment of a large kotyle in Eleusis. The precise derivation of the Fikellura crescent is, anyhow, of little importance, especially when one considers the simple nature of the ornament.

[6] *E.g.* fragment of late 'Rhodian' plate from Naucratis, B.M. A 997: all the lower angles are filled with palmettes. A simpler type is found on some Vroulian cups, *e.g.* B.M. A 1004 (Kinch fig. 62). A related ornament on the shield of Menelaos on the Euphorbos plate (Schaal *Bilderhefte* III pl. 5, 8) has V-shaped copulas instead of palmettes.

[7] So on C 1 (Plate 4 *c*), C 5, K 2 (Plate 9) and K 3. On the belly below a lost main zone, C 3 (Plate 17 *f*), C 4, C 4*a*. On the shoulder, the zone below lost, Z 4 and 5.

once, Q 1, above scale pattern. On the comos fragment from Samos (K 3) it is doubled. The gussets are differently decorated on different examples—palmette, small lotus flower or bud, rosette (Fig. 9, no. 32) or lozenge.

7. *Buds.* The bud chain is most probably derived from Attic. It does not appear in Fikellura before 540.

8. *Pomegranates.* A chain of pomegranates occurs on two of the amphorae listed above.[1] It must come from Laconian,[2] where the pomegranate chain had long been a favourite motive. On the University College fragment (B 7, Plate 10 *c*) one Boread holds a pomegranate in his hand—an affectation fashionable from the end of the first half of the century. Debased pomegranates are the usual shoulder decoration of the early Running Man Group. Isolated forms are found on F 5 and Y 5.

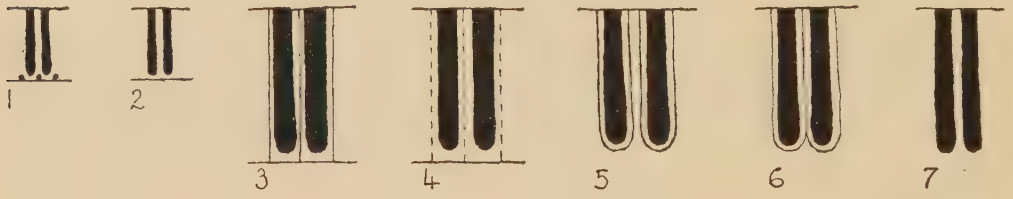

Fig. 12.—Tongue Patterns (not to scale).
(On Y 40, Type 5, the compartments are joined by chevrons.)

9. *Myrtle Wreath.* This ornament is common in Laconian from after 590, on numerous Ionian cups and in Clazomenian. On Fikellura amphorae it decorates the shoulder angle or the belly. It is found only in the Mykonos Group and on the amphoriskos Y 9. The floruit is the third quarter of the century. On the fragments S 4, which I think are slightly earlier, a tree has been formed out of such branches.

10. *Ivy Leaf.* This motive becomes universally popular about the middle of the century. Its use here is on the lip of amphorae—D 1, E 1 (?), Q 1, and on Z 10 doubled; or, much more commonly, on the shoulder of amphorae and amphoriskoi—doubled on Q 16, Z 8 and 9.

11. *Tongue Pattern.* The forms that this pattern takes in Fikellura are drawn out on Fig. 12. 1 is found four times only (A 1, T 1 and 4 and U 8). 2 is the normal form, lengthened and coarsened, particularly in the late period, to 7. 3 occurs in the Altenburg Group and on a few

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As a frame to the central panel of a Louvre Group oinochoe, S 9 (Plate 17 *g*). But between two minor zones on E 7.

[1] G 11, P 17. And on the lid of the new amphora from Kremasto, F 5.

[2] So also Kunze *A.M.* 1934, 100, where further instances are given of Laconian influence on East Greek art.

other vases; 4, a bye-form, only once (Q 4). 5 twice, on Y 1 and Y 40—on the latter joined by chevrons. 6 is found once (Q 11). Tongues are placed at the top of the shoulder and, in the case of type 7, round the base of amphoriskoi and (less often) of amphorae. In 'Rhodian,' tongues are usually intermittent.

12. *Chevrons.* From 'Rhodian,' where they are not uncommon. Once the motive is doubled to form a ε pattern (Y 13). On Y 41 it replaces crescents, as the zigzags on Y 36.

13. *Rays.* The long thin ray is rare (Y 13, 14 and 15). The normal Fikellura ray is nearly equilateral and has three positions on a vase: (1) At the base of the vase, bounded above by two or three narrow bands; so on the Plain Body Group and on the cup, W 3, and paralleled in 'Rhodian' by the amphora of Fikellura shape in the Louvre.[1] (2) Inverted, at the base of the handle, as often in 'Rhodian.'[2] (3) Inverted and repeated to form a band of ornament, on the oinochoe fragment U 4 and, probably, on E 1. On various 'Rhodian' plates an ornamental band is built up out of the ray without reference to the original conception of the use of this motive, and the plate Lausanne 4285 is decorated with several of these bands.[3] A somewhat similar use occurs under the handle of K 9.

14. *Ribbon Pattern.* This is in appearance a fusion of two such bands, one upright and one inverted. Here, however, it is more probably borrowed from the mainland.[4] It occurs once only in Fikellura (U 3, PLATE 15 *c*).

15. *Stalked Rosette* (FIG. 9, 33). These are found on oinochoai of the Plain Body Group as individual ornaments, and in a band on the body of an oinochoe (U 3) and on the neck (U 6). The form varies slightly. Related rosettes are found on the earlier East Greek ring-footed cups and bowls of bird bowl type,[5] and similar rosettes are frequent in the centre of 'Rhodian' plates,[6] where the rosette is usually enclosed in a band of dot and billet. Dot and billet accompany these rosettes in Fikellura on U 3 and 6; on the Plain Body Group the decorative scheme would not permit a band of dot and billet.

16. *Lotus Flowers and Buds.* (The main types are drawn out on FIG. 13, to which the numbers here refer.) 1. This is a normal type in 'Rhodian,' especially on oinochoai of the Banded Group and on dishes. In Fikellura it is represented only on the oinochoe fragment, T 5 (PLATE 17 *a*). 2. A variety (T 6, PLATE 16 *b*). 3. Here (R 8) the bud has an arrow-shaped

[1] See p. 55, n. 3.

[2] And so, occasionally, in Attic; *e.g.* on the Amasis amphora, Jacobsthal *Orn.* pl. 35 *a*. Here D 1, E 1, Q 1 and, repeated, K 9. Cf. the early 'Rhodian' squat oinochoai, *e.g.* Berlin F 295 (Neugebauer pl. 17 shows the general type of this group).

[3] Zervos fig. 89. From Camiros.

[4] See p. 43.

[5] Kinch pl. 18, 3; 25, 5.

[6] *E.g.* Louvre A 309: *C.V.A. Louvre* 1 pl. 19, 6.

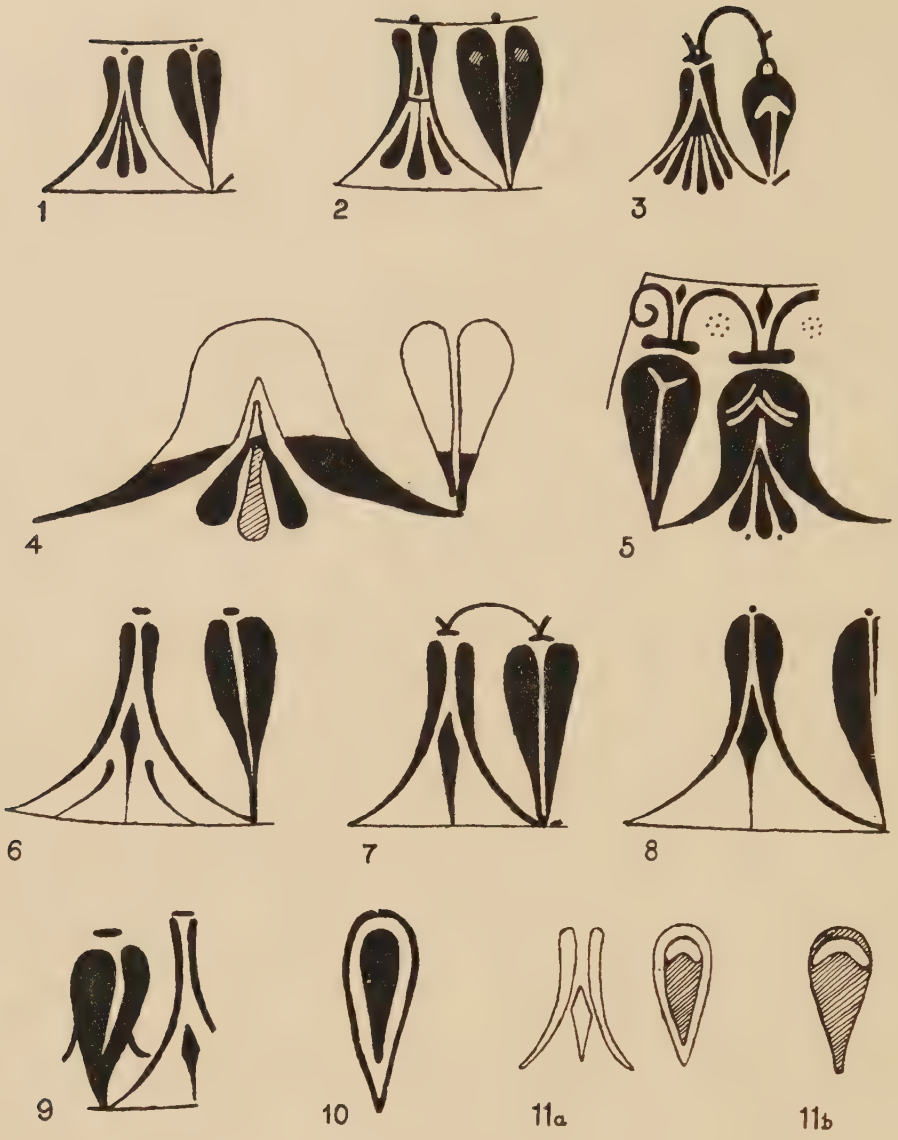

FIG. 13.—LOTUS FLOWERS AND BUDS.

Scale about 1 : 1 exc. nos. 3 (1 : 2), 5 (2 : 3), 8 (about 1 : 2). Hatching represents purple.

1. T 5.
2. T 6.
3. R 8.
4. R 11 (restorations outlined).
5. R 9.
6. C 3, K 7, Z 11.
7. Normal.
8. Y 19.
9. C 1.
10. R 10.
11. Polychrome Bucchero oinochoe (p. 57 n. 2 at end).

reservation, but the flower belongs to type 1. 4 (R 11) and 5 (R 9). The unbroken calyx perhaps does not occur in 'Rhodian' before the introduction of incision. R 11 is perhaps not Fikellura. A fragmentary late Naucratite chalice in Cambridge[1] affords an interesting comparison to the Cairo oinochoe fragment, R 9: the bud has a V-shaped reservation, the tendril ends in a spiral and in the field is a dot-rosette. The big ornament between the volutes on the amphora L 16 (Fig. 14), is clearly related and gives weight to the attribution of R 9 to Fikellura. R 8 is also connected, though the flower is of more normal type. The forked reservation occurs on 'Rhodian'

Fig. 14.—L 16, Central Ornament.
(Scale 1 : 1.)

buds.[2] 6. The flower with five separate petals is common in late 'Rhodian,' and frequently the second and fourth are vestigial: but the form is clumsy and broad and did not affect Fikellura. A better parallel would be the form on the oinochoe illustrated in *Cl.Rh.* vi–vii 28, fig. 16. But since the typical Fikellura lotus comes unchanged from 'Rhodian,' this

[1] N 94–6, N 28.67. To be published in *C.V.A. Cambridge* ii.

[2] *E.g.* Kinch fig. 89 etc., and an unpublished oinochoe of the Banded group in Gotha. On the Gotha vase the shoulder ornament is a chain of lotus flowers of normal Fikellura type and buds with arrow-shaped reservation; in the centre is a large lotus flower with enclosed outer petals, the space between which is filled in with diagonal chequer pattern. Cf. also the polychrome Bucchero oinochoe at Birmingham University (p. 57; Fig. 13, 11).

five-petalled type, which has no exact parallels in earlier East Greek art, is a retrograde formation. Stylistically it may be intermediate, historically it is not. It is found three or four times in Fikellura (C 3, K 7,[1] Z 11, and an unnumbered fragment in the B. M. possibly from the same vase as Z 11). 7. This is the normal Fikellura form, rare but not unknown in 'Rhodian' A. In the incised period three-petalled lotus flowers are frequent but usually coarse: occasionally a thinner variety appears. But the best parallels, as usual, are with the 'A' style, as on the Gotha oinochoe. The amphora sherd in Munich [2] may represent the period of transition to Fikellura. Clazomenian, which occasionally uses this form,[3] presumably borrowed it from Fikellura. Sometimes the ornament is doubled, as on the oinochoe neck, T 4, and in the Tarquinia Group. 8. A form of the flower swollen at the base comes on Y 19. 9. A variation of the normal bud and unparalleled. A second lotus band on the same vase (C 1) [4] dispenses with the spikes. 10. These enclosed buds are common in 'Rhodian' but do not occur in Fikellura except on the fragmentary oinochoe, R 10, which I have only with hesitation assigned to Fikellura.

The ornament is used chiefly to decorate the shoulder or the lowest zone of the belly, as in 'Rhodian.' It is essentially a terminal pattern. Occasionally it wanders to the neck and once to the lip (Z 12). In the Tarquinia Group the doubled form is the typical ornament of the belly, replacing the subsidiary animal zone of the Lion Group. Variations in fullness are probably without significance. The use of connecting tendrils is arbitrary.[5] Purple is sometimes used, on the central petal of the flower or as dots at the base of the bud.

17. *Star and Overlapping Star.* The star which fills the centre of a few cups (W 3 and 4) is taken over from 'Rhodian,' where it occupies the same position on dishes. In 'Rhodian' it is usually a leaf star. The overlapping star is an elaboration of the single variety (U 1 and 2 and W 6).[6] It is an early ornament and probably used in broad bands in the same way as scale pattern.

18. *Scale Pattern.* Scales in earlier East Greek art are sometimes used on sphinxes, sirens and eagles. There is a late 'Rhodian' example [7] of their independent use. Corinthian is, however, probably the inspiration, where the pattern occupies a similar area of the vase, though the form is different. The shape of the central marking varies from a T-shaped

[1] C 3 (PLATE 17 *f*); K 7 (PLATE 10 *d*).
[2] See p. 55, and PLATE 17 *e*.
[3] *E.g.* Leningrad 15847: *Izv.* (*G.A.I.M.K.*) 5, pl. 12, 1.
[4] PLATE 4 *c*.
[5] In the descriptions in the Catalogue, unless the contrary is stated, it is to be assumed that the flowers and buds are joined.
[6] PLATES 17 *b* (U 1) and 1 *b* (W 6).
[7] B.M. 1924.12–1.217. Fragment of a lid, from Naucratis or Tell Defenneh.

blob to a fine point. Clazomenian scales are larger and coarser. There is an Ionian amphora in Göttingen, imitating Attic in technique and from its shape to be dated to about 540, which is decorated with scales of the finer Fikellura type: neck and body, except for a narrow tongue pattern at the top of the shoulder, are completely covered with scale pattern. Scale pattern is an early Fikellura motive, first appearing in the Louvre Group.[1]

19. *Diagonal Decoration.* There are several varieties—lozenges, crosses or blobs, or four-dot rosettes placed diagonally, or diagonal rows of dots (once even, on Y 38, diagonal lines) with crosses, blobs or four-dot rosettes in the compartments. A possible derivation is from the chequer pattern common in East Greek Geometric and Orientalising, which is sometimes composed of lozenges instead of squares and might pass into the looser scheme of the Athens amphoriskos (Y 13). More likely, as Furtwängler says,[2] is a connection with textile decoration. Reticulation is also found on an Ionian cup.[3]

20. *Zigzags.* There are two types of zigzags, used in distinct ways. (1) A narrow horizontal band of zigzag, the spaces filled with chevrons or T-shaped blobs.[4] (2) Large vertical zigzags. This latter type is occasionally substituted for reticulation.[5] Once it is used on the neck of an amphora, P 7.

Volutes.

(Figs. 15, 16.)

The great volutes, springing from the handle and forming the main decoration of an amphora, are one of the most characteristic of Fikellura motives. Their first appearance in the style seems to be in the Altenburg Group; there they do not meet in the middle of the face, but flank a comast, animal or bird. Later such figures disappear and the volute circle is completed. In the New York Group a gap remains between the volutes, filled with rosettes and small lotus flowers,[6] but this is not necessarily an intermediate group. Sometimes the volutes are confined by bands of subsidiary ornament, sometimes are free in the field—a decorative system

[1] The Tell Defenneh amphora (B.M. 88.2–8.57: *Tanis* ii pl. 32, 4), of local manufacture (?), owes as much to Clazomenian as to Fikellura. The cable pattern on the shoulder is taken from Fikellura, the form of the scales and the plastic ring below the lip are rather Clazomenian.

[2] *J.d.I.* 1886, 142.

[3] See p. 36 n. 2.

[4] So C 6, neat and small: Z 6, larger and clumsy. This motive, small and with T-shaped filling, is fairly common in late 'Rhodian' A; *e.g.* the amphora fragment in Munich (p. 55, Plate 17 *e*).

[5] Y 25, 34 and Z 7. On Y 36 instead of crescents, as the chevrons on Y 41.

[6] Fig. 3.

Fig. 15.—Types of Volutes (not to scale).

1. Volute Tree (' Rhodian ' A = Kinch fig. 88 *b*).
2. From Euphorbos Plate (B.M. A 749; late ' Rhodian ' A).
3. Berlin Univ. D 438 (rough sketch; cf. p. 81).
4. PP 1 (rough sketch).
5. Simple (Handle-) Volutes (L 19, 20).
6. Normal Fikellura Type.

taken over from the Running Man Group. The angles are filled with palmettes, usual above and rare below; with lozenges, outline or partially or fully filled, and occasionally stalked; with ivy leaves; or with a small lotus flower. These variations are quite arbitrary, as are the junctions of the volutes at the base of the handle.[1] Purple is used freely, for Fikellura, on the New York Group, less commonly elsewhere. Symmetry, as Jacobsthal remarks,[2] is neglected; but the Colmar amphora (O 8) is a particularly slovenly performance. The fragment P 19 has more convolutions than is usual. Sometimes double spirals lie horizontally (P 15 and on the amphoriskos Y 6); or, on Y 8, are placed vertically, beneath the handles. On the Syracuse amphoriskos (Y 7) the volute has three members, of which the second is raised; on H 8 four members, of which two are raised (Fig. 16, 1), an effect reminiscent of Attic. On L 19 and 20 it is simple (Fig. 15, 5).

In late 'Rhodian' the volute motive is popular. First, there is the zone of double spirals, which, like the linked circles, are a favourite decoration of dishes. Secondly, we find on the shoulders of oinochoai or below the rims of dinoi a single volute with bold leaves sprouting from below. But these are remote in style, feeling, and use from the volutes of Fikellura. For close parallels we must once more go further back. Jacobsthal well compares the Banded oinochoe in the Archaeological Seminar of the University of Berlin (see Fig. 15, 3).[3] In some ways the hanging ornament in the centre of the Euphorbos plate is closer:[4] the outline palmette is paralleled below the handle of the Running Man Group amphora, L 3. Fikellura has adapted the 'Rhodian' ornament to the handles and developed it from a minor to a dominant ornament.

The volutes of the amphora from Berezan, PP 1 (Figs. 5 and 15, 4), are close to the form of the Berlin oinochoe and are similarly placed on the shoulder. But the Berezan vase is certainly not earlier than the earliest vases of the Altenburg Group that have the characteristic Fikellura type of volutes.

The Volute Complexes (Fig. 16, 2) immediately suggest Attic influence. The Fikellura forms are, however, less subtly designed than the Attic:[5] this is plainly shown in the transition from the first to the second vertical pair of volutes. The construction of the elaborate handle volutes on the amphora H 8 is simply that of an ordinary volute band composed of four members, buckled up so that the second and fourth members clear the top

[1] Jacobsthal *Orn.* 43 is too elaborate. [2] *Ib.*

[3] D 438. From Rhodes. *Auktionskatalog Helbing*, 28–30.10.1913, pl. 5 no. 90. Jacobsthal *Orn.* 179 (the shoulder ornament is drawn out). Berlin Inv. 2932, which Jacobsthal cites (p. 44, fig. on p. 45; from *J.H.S.* 1885, 181 fig. 1—an unfair drawing) is not before the middle of the sixth century. Conceivably the vase with which the satyrs are busy is meant for Fikellura.

[4] Schaal *Bilderhefte* III pl. 5, 8. Fig. 15, 2.

[5] Cf. Jacobsthal *Orn.*, plates *passim*.

of the first and third. On D 1 and E 1 the complex is more venturous, as its central position demands. K 9 is still more ambitious: roughly its scheme is an opposed pair of horizontal volutes of two members. It is hard to doubt the Attic inspiration of the complexes of D 1 and E 1, vases which are closely related, and of K 9, where the inner details of the figure also argue imitation of Attic.

FIG. 16.—VOLUTES AND VOLUTE COMPLEXES.
1. Type of H 8 (restorations in outline).
2. Type of D 1 and E 1.

HANDLE ORNAMENTS.

(FIG. 17.)

This familiar ornament of the Fikellura style occurs on 17 amphorae of the Running Man Group and on the amphoriskoi, Y 11, 12 and 12*a*. Usually the upper curve projects over the lower and the side angles are occupied by lozenges, the angle below by a palmette. But the projection may be of the lower curve and lozenges [1] may replace the palmette. On

[1] On L 5 *a*, filled with chevrons. The side ornaments may be omitted (L 5, L 18).

FIG. 17.—TYPES OF HANDLE ORNAMENTS.

1. Normal. 2. L 2. 3. Y 12. 4. L 5 *a*. 5. L 17 and (no side lozenges) 18. 6. Y 11.

the amphoriskoi Y 12 and Y 12 *a*, the palmette has been greatly enlarged. The amphoriskos Y 11 has also side palmettes. The ornament belongs properly to the free field style.

The same ornament, much reduced and with no tectonic function, appears as a shoulder ornament on an oinochoe of the Plain Body Group (R 7), where the volutes are without spine or side lozenges; and on two fragments from the shoulders of amphorae, one decorated with an animal zone (B 11), the other with human figures (K 8).[1] Both R 7 and B 11 should be earlier than any of the vases on which the ornament serves as a handle ornament. It is a logical sequence.

A pair of volutes from which springs usually a large lotus flower is a favourite ornament on ' Rhodian ' oinochoai to decorate the centre of the shoulder frieze. Kinch, fig. 87, has a selection of such ornaments, even

FIG. 18.—ORNAMENTS FROM SHOULDER OF MIDDLE ' RHODIAN ' OINOCHOAI (= KINCH FIG. 87 *d–e*).

one (*e*) which has spines to the volutes and a palmette below and is the same way up as its Fikellura descendant.[2] Admittedly there is an interval in time between the two; but the same difficulty applies to the transmission of many other ornaments to Fikellura, which is more closely connected with the ' A ' style than with that of the incised period. The ornament seems to have reached Fikellura as an independent shoulder ornament. It was the painter of the Running Man amphora who for his new decorative system enlarged it and employed it as a handle ornament.[3]

[1] PLATE 10 *e*.

[2] In ' Rhodian ' the spine is attached to the spiral below. Cf. the right half of the handle-ornament of L 2 (FIG. 17, 2).

[3] Jacobsthal *Orn.* 38 ff. discusses this ornament in detail. The ' Rhodian ' origin is clear: an organic development can be traced for the motive from the pair of simple spirals of the type of B.M. A 460 (Kinch fig. 108) to the more substantial forms of the normal oinochoe (*ib.* fig. 87 *c–e*): *d* and *e* reproduced here, FIG. 18. In origin both the great volutes and the handle-ornament of Fikellura come from the simple spiral; the volutes by way of the palmette tree and the Euphorbos plate ornament (FIGS. 15, 1, 2). The similarity of the curves of the spirals on the stelai is a natural expression of the current East Greek feeling for curves; there is no conscious imitation by vase-painters.

Distribution.

The West. In Italy a few isolated pieces of Fikellura have been found, and one in Sicily from a grave which also contained Late Corinthian II (Y 7).

Old Greece. From Corinth and Delphi one piece each.[1] From the Acropolis at Athens fragments of four,[2] from Eleusis of one vase.[3] From Aegina three or four vases and a few fragments: some of these are from graves, but the groups, if recorded, are unpublished.

The Cyclades. From Delos and Rheneia about a dozen vases and fragments, including perhaps a local imitation (R 12).

East Greece. Samos and Rhodes (and Nisyros) have yielded much Fikellura. For Miletus the mass of the ceramic finds is neither published nor available: the museum at Smyrna has a few fragments, of which three are Fikellura.

Propontis. A single amphoriskos from Elaeus (Y 9).

The Pontus. From Apollonia Pontica an amphoriskos (Y 22 *a*) and a number of fragments in Sofia, the Louvre, and Bonn (2000. 20 and 55).[4] From Istria a certain amount is recorded.[5] Berezan and Olbia have both been rich in Fikellura.

Cyprus. Only three sure attributions (B 1 *a*, N 1, Y 11): these are probably from graves, but Cesnola had scarcely time to note grave groups.

Egypt. Much from Naucratis and Tell Defenneh. A few pieces from other parts of the Delta.[6] In Upper Egypt a single fragment from Luxor (G 9).

The distribution is wide, but the mass of the finds are concentrated in the south East Greek area, South Russia and the Delta. Of the secondary sites, Delos is a Panionian centre, Cyprus lies on the route to Egypt: Aegina is somewhat surprising. Further excavation will not, I think, materially alter this distribution, unless along the northern trade route.[7]

[1] B 16, Y 30.

[2] Graef I 446–449 (Boehlau no. 60).

[3] Y group 1, at end.

[4] Mostly casual finds from the island of St. Kiriak. Y 22 *a* was dredged up with miscellaneous pottery from the very end of the seventh century to the Roman period in the channel between the island and the promontory where the modern town stands. This material is now in Sofia and Burgas.

[5] Mme. Lambrino *La Céramique d'Histria—Série rhodo-ionienne*, *Dacia* III–IV 366, mentions ' assez nombreux fragments.' Prof. and Mme. Lambrino kindly let me view the unpublished finds.

[6] K 2, L 6, N 8 are presumably from the Delta. At the head of the Delta one sherd from Memphis (P 23 *c*) and one from Abusir (T 8).

[7] Of the relevant sites on the West coast of the Pontus only Istria has been excavated. Apollonia Pontica, to judge from casual finds, is rich in East Greek pottery from the end of the seventh century.

Sites and their Evidence for Chronology.

Excavations outside the East Greek area are of little value for the chronology of Fikellura. The amphoriskos from Syracuse (Y 7) is the only piece from a published grave group.

South Russia.

Brief notices of the extensive excavations carried on here were published annually in *A.A.* 1904–1914, and do not always specify the wares found. *Berezan*, excavated in at least seven of these years, continually produced sherds of all the main East Greek fabrics of the late seventh and the sixth centuries. An interim report appeared in *Protokolle d. Sitz. d. k. Odessaer Ges. für Geschichte und Altertümer*, 1909; I have not been able to procure this work and do not know what it contains. A part at least of the finds from Berezan are from graves; whether the records of these graves are preserved I do not know. *Olbia* in many seasons of excavations yielded a quantity of archaic wares, some of which was Fikellura.[1] At *Kertsch*, *Taman* and *Nemritsov* archaic sites were dug, and valuable evidence from them also may exist; from *Kertsch* comes Y 37. Such Fikellura pieces from South Russia as are published occur casually in *A.A.* or the general reports in Russian periodicals.

Egypt.

Naucratis. No inferences may be drawn from the excavations here.[2]

Tell Defenneh. Most, if not all, of the Greek sherds from Tell Defenneh went to the British Museum, where some were inventoried immediately under the serial 88.2–8. Others were later mixed with the uninventoried sherds from Naucratis, and most of the East Greek sherds among them were eventually inventoried in 1924 (serial 1924.12–1). It is, therefore, now impossible to distinguish with certainty the origin of these sherds, unless they have been published in a report of the excavations, or can be

[1] Pharmakowsky *A.A.* 1914, 232.

[2] Unfortunately no stratification is possible. The finds extend from about 620 to the Roman period. E. Gjerstad (*Studies in Archaic Greek Chronology, I: Naucratis, L.A.A.A.* 1934, 67–84) attempts to use the stratification of the site of the temple of Apollo, as recorded by Petrie in *Naukratis* i. Unfortunately Petrie's classification of wares (*op. cit.* 17–20) is vague and obscure and he did not think it necessary to publish the context of individual objects. The data are, therefore, unsatisfactory, and the conclusions that Gjerstad reaches on the chronology of East Greek Pottery must anyhow be suspect. The Fikellura he dates after 550: this may well be true. But it is incredible that early Attic B.F. should be found in a late sixth-century stratum, or, when one considers the scientific excavations of Jacopi in Rhodes, that Naucratite A, 'Rhodian' and Ionian Bowls should persist to the end of the sixth century. The relative chronology is also impossible. If Gjerstad is right in his interpretation of Petrie's classes—and he would seem to be right—the strata of the Apollo site must have been seriously disturbed.

connected with other fragments the origin of which is known.[1] Fikellura is described as ' common ' at Tell Defenneh (*Tanis* ii 62),[2] while in contrast it was ' rare ' at Naucratis (in 1884–5 and 1885–6).

The residue of Greek sherds known to have come from Tell Defenneh is not great. They belong to four groups—Attic, Fikellura, Clazomenian and the Situlae.[2] The Attic is of the middle of the century. The Clazomenian ranges from the earliest phase in which the fabric is known to 540 or shortly after. The earliest Fikellura are the two amphorae of the Lion Group (B 1 and 2): the lower limit is vague, probably not later than 530. The date of this deposit is from about 565 to 535 or 530.[3] This does not necessarily date the site, which was only partially dug[4]; and nine tenths of the Hellenic sherds were found in two rooms of the central block.

We rely, therefore, almost entirely for the dating of Fikellura on excavations in the East Greek area. These excavations are far from comprehensive and many were unsatisfactorily made.

Rhodes.

Extensive and scientific excavations have been made in this island—of archaic sites at Camiros, Ialysos, Lindos, the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios and Vroulia, and also on the neighbouring island of Nisyros. Biliotti and

[1] G 6, P 17 and Q 2 are illustrated in *Tanis* ii. B.M.: 1924.12–1.1060 goes with fragments (D 2) of known provenance.

There are certain extra numbers, not ordinary B.M. numbers, on some of these sherds. They occur on sherds known to have come from Tell Defenneh, but not on sherds known to have come from Naucratis. They may be dig numbers used at Tell Defenneh. I have listed sherds bearing such numbers ' from Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis).'

[2] There was no Corinthian: Payne *Necrocorinthia* 187. For general remarks on the dating of the Situlae, see Rumpf *J.d.I.* 1933, 61: but they cannot yet be used to fix the chronology of Tell Defenneh.

[3] Cf. Rumpf *Gnomon* i 330 and *J.d.I.* 1933, 60, for the dating and identification of Tell Defenneh. Herodotus is not definite. The position he gives for Stratopeda should not be far from Tell Defenneh (ii 154). The similarity of name favours Daphnae, and anyhow its site should also be somewhere near Tell Defenneh. Daphnae must lie on the strategical route from Asia, since the frontier fort is there (ii 30) and Sesostris is casually mentioned as returning by Daphnae (ii 107). A settlement of veterans might very well have been placed close at hand in support of the important frontier post of Daphnae. But if Daphnae and Stratopeda were situated closely together, it is indeed curious that Herodotus does not mention Daphnae in his description of the situation of Stratopeda. It is unlikely, to judge from the statements of Herodotus, that the two places should be equated. Lastly, it does not follow that on the concentration of the Greeks in Naucratis the Greek mercenaries were recalled from frontier duty. In fact the reason given for the depopulation of Stratopeda is that Amasis wanted them as a bodyguard in Memphis (ii 154), from which the inference is, that the Naucratis regulations did not apply, as one would anyhow expect, to the mercenaries. If then Tell Defenneh is Daphnae or indeed any frontier post, the finds of Greek pottery there may have no bearing on the date of the concentration in Naucratis. *Tanis* ii pl. 24, 6 must be a stray.

[4] There are two or three earlier pieces.

Salzmann also dug at Ialysos, Camiros and Siana, but of the 1000 graves they opened, only 500 were inventoried—a defective record, which frequently does not allow the reader to discover to what pieces reference is made; this difficulty was aggravated by the dispersal of their collection. The recent excavations, however, have generally been fully published. At *Camiros* the largest cemetery, that of Makri Langoni, has a nucleus of graves of the late seventh and very early sixth centuries. It seems then to have been neglected for over half a century and to have become popular once more about 540, when also some of the chamber tombs were re-used. The other Camiran cemeteries are small; there also the mid-sixth century is scarcely represented in the finds. At *Ialysos* Jacopi excavated over 300 graves of the seventh to the fifth centuries. Here once more the middle of the sixth century is weakly represented. At *Lindos* continual occupation of the Acropolis had left few archaic sherds—of Fikellura, fragments of a few amphorae and amphoriskoi;[1] and the absence of Fikellura from the single mid-sixth century pocket has no importance. The sanctuary of *Zeus Atabyrios* produced comparatively little archaic pottery, and in an unstratified deposit. One Fikellura amphora was found. At *Siana* Biliotti and Salzmann found a little Fikellura in graves. From *Vroulia* the latest dated ware is Middle Corinthian. The absence of Fikellura or transitional pieces is good evidence that Fikellura is later than the first quarter of the sixth century.

Nisyros.

The small necropolis excavated contained about 40 graves ranging from the seventh to the fifth centuries. It does not help for the early Fikellura period.

Samos.

Two important areas have been or are being excavated—the Nekropoleis of the Old Town and the Heraion. The *Nekropoleis*, mainly excavated and published by Boehlau,[2] yielded many fragments of Fikellura, but the graves from which these came did not contain other readily datable objects. The general date of the pottery in these cemeteries is, however, the first half of the sixth century: Corinthian is Middle or Late I, Laconian ceases about 560, the 'Rhodian' and Bucchero belong to the beginning of the century, the Ionian cups and other vases may well be before the middle of the century, though the two graves (48 and 49) with terracottas and plastic vases seem to be later. The solitary intrusive pot is a much later kantharos (Boehlau pl. 7, 1), which was found alone. The Fikellura,

[1] Blinkenberg *Lindos* 284 nos. 992–994.

[2] All the Fikellura pieces in Kassel, except for the amphora P 21, are from Boehlau's excavations. A few dull sherds went to Bonn.

which consists mainly of fragments of oinochoai and cups, should similarly be dated before the middle of the century.

The *Heraion* [1] promises to be one of the richest sites for Fikellura. So far stratification has been impossible, and the only relevant criterion for dating is afforded by the Rhoikos altar of about 540.

South-East Asia.

Little thorough excavation has been done in this area. The finds from *Miletus* are shrouded in mystery, all the more regrettably since the few fragments now in Smyrna show that Fikellura was found there.[2] At *Ephesos* the excavators do not seem to have found much archaic pottery. I know of one Fikellura sherd from the site.[3] *Old Smyrna*, where recently a preliminary survey was made and trial trenches dug,[4] was destroyed late in the first quarter of the century: since the 'Rhodian' wares are well represented, it is a reasonable inference that Fikellura was not yet in existence at the time of the destruction.

Interior of Asia Minor.

No Fikellura is recorded from the excavations at *Sardis* and *Gordion* nor from casual finds.

Aeolis.

No Fikellura has been found at *Larissa*, which is not surprising, since Aeolis stood apart from the southern 'Rhodian' circle. Other archaic sites in Aeolis have not been systematically excavated.

Northern Islands.

Miss Price mentions the occurrence of Fikellura in *Chios*; I have not been able to find examples. *Mytilene* has produced no Fikellura yet: the archaic finds at *Antissa* showed a large proportion of Bucchero, very little 'Rhodian' or Naucratite, so that the island must lie outside the 'Rhodian' sphere of influence.

[1] A brief report by Technau, *A.M.* 1929, 26. Lately considerably more and finer Fikellura sherds have been found.

[2] It was 'relatively frequent,' Prinz 41.

[3] In the Archaeological Collection of Vienna University. Fragment of neck of amphora with double cable pattern; from Keil's excavations.

[4] By the Miltners. See *Ö. Jh.* 1932 Beiblatt 127–188. A selection of some hundreds of sherds from this campaign are now in the Archaeological Collection of Vienna University, where Prof. Schober kindly let me study them. There was one Fikellura sherd, which I would date shortly after the middle of the sixth century. It must, I think, be a stray. There are also fragments of two Attic band-cups, one of the third, the other of the last quarter of the century. The Fikellura piece is anyhow an import. Much of the finds from Old Smyrna, presumably local, seems Aeolian rather than 'Rhodian.' This is not clear from the publication.

General Chronology.

The conclusions to be drawn from these sites from the presence or absence of Fikellura are that the style did not begin before 580 and that by the middle of the century it was active. With this the connections of the lions of the Vathy fragment and of the Lion Group are in agreement. For the lower limit the cemeteries of Camiros and Ialysos give good evidence: occasionally a Fikellura piece strays into a fifth-century group, one is even found with Attic of about 460.[1] But such stragglers are rare. The style petered out about the end of the century.

For the last third of the century the *Clara Rhodos* grave groups enable us to date roughly certain Fikellura groups which appear there. How far we can use the absence of a group from these excavations as an argument for its earlier date is uncertain, owing to the uncertainty of the home of Fikellura.[2] I have on the whole accepted this criterion as valid. On these grounds I put the figure style generally before 535. The upper date is not definite. The Lion Group amphora (B 1), which may represent the introduction of the canonic amphora into Fikellura,[3] can be dated with reasonable accuracy to about 560, and from it there is an organic development of the animals to the Würzburg Group. The Vathy Lion should be earlier. The oinochoe and the ring-footed cup may be slightly earlier shapes than the amphora, judging by their predominance in Boehlau's cemeteries—B 6 is the only fragment which could be attributed to an amphora—and by the stronger ' Rhodian ' tradition. The weak connection between the decoration of amphorae and oinochoai does not, on the present evidence, permit a definite decision. For the intermediate period I have judged partly by style, a dangerous criterion in Fikellura, and partly in an attempt to space the remaining pieces plausibly over this interval. A good mid-sixth century cemetery in Rhodes would solve many difficulties.

Origins.

Fikellura is the last survivor of the ' Rhodian ' Orientalising tradition. From ' Rhodian,' of which the majority of the published pieces come from Rhodes and probably actually are Rhodian, it inherits much—the shapes of the oinochoe and perhaps of the amphora, the decorative scheme of the early amphorae, the choice of fauna and the compositions, much of the subsidiary ornament and the filling-ornament. From a class of East Greek ring-footed cups of the end of the seventh century it takes the shape and certain ornaments. Much has been modified and adapted to new ideas: but there can be no doubt that Fikellura is in direct descent from ' Rhodian.'

[1] O 1. [2] See pp. 91–2. [3] See p. 56.

There is no alternative solution. How this legacy passed to Fikellura it is difficult at present to understand. The 'Rhodian' to which Fikellura is related is that of the last quarter of the seventh century, when the oinochoe was the typical shape and incision had not yet been introduced.[1] But this 'A' style on the *Clara Rhodos* evidence disappears about 600. The new style which replaces it is coarse and clumsy, makes frequent use of incision on the shoulder and instead of slip uses a thin wash or not even that. The commonest shapes are now the plate, the dinos, the bowl, the krater, a new type of oinochoe and a narrow oval-bodied amphora. Fikellura makes an almost complete break with this uninspired style and reverts to the technique and tradition of the previous period. Possibly the older style had lingered on side by side with the new, but there is little but presumptive evidence. The solution must wait till the whole problem of 'Rhodian' has been solved.

From other sources Fikellura takes but little. The pomegranate may well have come from Laconian. While Clazomenian remains undated, it is idle to speculate which fabric evolved crescents. The connection with the Ionian cups has already been mentioned:[2] this B.F. class and Fikellura are rather two manifestations of the same style than two separate styles. Attic influence makes itself vaguely felt in later figure drawing, for example in the inner markings of the Berezan monster (K 9); more definitely in the volute and palmette complexes of D 1 and E 1. The effects of Fikellura on other styles are still vaguer: probably it gave the crescent to Laconian.

The internal evidence for the home of the style is inconclusive. The technique of the earlier slipped pottery from Rhodes, Samos and Miletus is similar; and until the 'Rhodian' styles have been distinguished and localised, it is impossible to determine from what area Fikellura is more likely to have borrowed. Comparison with contemporary styles is of little assistance. The Ionian cups have not been localised with certainty, though the greater quantity of finds is an argument in favour of Samos. To contemporary sculpture and bronzes, of which little has been found in Rhodes, the resemblances of the Fikellura human figures are only generic. Inscriptions are rare and found mainly on fragments from Naucratis.[3] And the 'unfired red' on a fragment from Boehlau's excavations at Samos[4] does not prove a local origin for the pot: a similar 'unfired red' occurs, I think, on a Laconian sherd from the same excavations.

[1] See p. 2, n. 1.

[2] See pp. 3, 7.

[3] All dedicatory, except perhaps that of Y 42*a*, the NIKO of Y 42 and the Δ painted on the base of U 8, which might be a potter's mark. On N 3 also the dedication was painted on the base, after firing. The rest are graffiti: the graffito on U 1 was not scratched till the oinochoe had been broken. The pieces with inscriptions are: B 3, N 3, R 10, U 1, U 8, W 12, Y 42, Y 42 *a*.

[4] Boehlau 61.

The distribution outside the East Greek area only indicates a city trading with the Pontus and Egypt, nor does it follow that the pottery was exported by local traders. Of the East Greek sites Rhodes has produced the most—more than 80 vases, of which about three-quarters are from Camiros, where one in every five contemporary graves contained Fikellura. But Rhodes has been more extensively excavated and looted than any other East Greek area, so that numbers alone are no proof. Certain groups have been found only or mainly in Rhodes; the Running Man, Volute Free and Volute Zone Groups have strong claims to a Rhodian origin. So have the later amphoriskoi: if the argument of wares being too poor for export has any value,[1] these would surely be of local manufacture. The finds from Samos are of better quality than the Rhodian average, perhaps because in Rhodes no rich archaic sanctuary has been excavated. This accounts also for the dearth of statues and bronzes from Rhodes. Further, there is a gap in the archaeological evidence from Rhodes for at least a large part of the period of the Samian finds. No other site, on the facts available, can lay any claim to being the home of Fikellura: it rests, at present, between Samos and Rhodes. Samos in the period before the Persian occupation was a flourishing artistic centre, and a local style of vase painting might well be expected. Rhodes on the historical evidence might have been a cultural backwater. The archaeological evidence for the two islands is not strictly comparable.

If then a single home is wanted for the style, the ' aesthetically unattached Ionians ' must be located in Rhodes, on the grounds of frequency of finds and of the distribution of the late Fikellura and Sub-Fikellura amphoriskoi—common in Rhodes, not yet found in Samos and elsewhere rare—which can hardly have been classes primarily intended for export.

The alternative solution is a *koine*. ' Rhodian ' offers a good analogy. This solution would simplify in particular the problem of the generally lower artistic level of the Fikellura of *Clara Rhodos* compared with not much earlier finds in Samos and elsewhere, and, if necessary, some of the extraordinary diversity in the style during one period. Further problems follow. Did Fikellura then evolve more or less independently in two or more localities, or is it the creation of a single centre, from which it was diffused? How far are the various styles interrelated, or does each area develop its own characteristic Fikellura? The existing evidence is hopelessly inadequate to answer these questions with any degree of certainty. On balance, I think, at present, the probabilities are in favour of a *koine* with Samos as the dominant partner.[2]

Whether or not we must split Fikellura into a variety of local styles,

[1] But there is enough *fin de siècle* Attic B.F. in Rhodes, and even a Late Corinthian Warrior Aryballos with a large dent in the side.

[2] So Kunze more definitely, *A.M.* 1934, 81 n. 4, 118.

there remains a certain unity. When we first come upon it, we find a style possessing a weak tradition inherited from the 'Rhodian' circle. The chief lasting innovations are the use of the crescent and of diagonal decoration, the development of the volute zone and the evolution of the amphoriskos. The Fikellura style is a mixture of originality and convention, of carefulness and negligence. At the beginning there was a lively animal style, which soon degenerated into a few stock types. The artist was content to confine his inspiration to a narrow zone or a single figure and to fill up as much of the rest of the vase as he chose with simple motives from his conventional repertory. The Tell Defenneh amphora (B 1) is an excellent example of the method of a good painter. The shoulder friezes are vigorous and fine; to complete the decoration he was satisfied with zones of crescents and a hare hunt, neatly but economically executed: the dogs on the shoulder and belly make an interesting comparison.[1] Equally typical is the effective but slapdash decoration of the Running Man amphora. In the early third quarter of the sixth century the interest of the more enterprising artists passed to human representations. The variety is bewildering and the history obscure. The Fikellura artists seem scarcely to affect, or to be affected by, other contemporary art, nor yet to form a coherent unity of their own. They would not leave well alone. It is the same with such original phenomena as the Louvre Group, the Plain Body Group and the Running Man Group. They suddenly appear, flourish for a short period and vanish without noticeable effect on the history of their own or any other style. Fikellura is a style very willing to experiment, but it does not build up a tradition. And by the last quarter of the century even experiment has ceased. All that remain constant are the shapes, the traditional system of zone decoration, and crescents, volutes and so forth, useful space-fillers.

Addenda.

Since this article was written I have seen the new finds from Rhodes and various other pieces have turned up, notably S 12. Corrections and additions have had to be made in the proof without my other notes. Hence some inconsistency and awkwardness. Three further pieces are to be added, of which Mr. Payne has informed me: I am indebted to him for notes on them and for the photograph reproduced here as Fig. 21, to Miss Richter for the photographs reproduced as Figs. 19 and 20.

B 1 *a*. New York C.P. 55A. Fragments of oinochoe. Shoulder, sphinx, deer, sphinx, bird, griffin, deer, griffin. Belly, parts of bull and lion confronting and of another lion—perhaps originally two groups of lion, bull (or similar victim) and panther, with birds between. Purple at

[1] Plates 2 *b*, 1 *f* and Fig. 8, 1.

least on lion's mane: and probably purple direct on clay for band between squares. From Cyprus. Figs. 19 and 20.

For the contour of the shoulder compare the amphora B 1, perhaps rather than the oinochoe T 4. The system of decoration is that of B 2 and 7: note in particular the broad band terminating the shoulder panel, which on both overlaps the dividing band, and the arrangement below the shoulder—ordinary band of blobs, band of intermediate width, then two simple lines. The lion of this piece is stiffer and more angular than those of B 1 and 2, the ear less developed and the use of purple greater.

Fig. 19.—B 1 *a*.

The profile of the griffin's head is earlier than that of the degenerate piece D 1. The head of the sphinx seems from the photo to resemble that of the Boread of B 7 (Plate 10 *c*). The birds are freaks. The serrated neck of the bull is at least unusual. The opposed squares are frequent enough in late 'Rhodian' on rims of bowls.[1] For purple direct on clay compare, perhaps, J 8 *b*.

This piece comes early in the Lion Group. Possibly B 1, 2 and 7 are by the same hand. The order of development seems to be B 1 *a*, 2, 1:

[1] Cf. fragments of an amphora neck, B.M. 1924. 12–1. 32 and 1087, from Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis): this may also be Fikellura. The piece from Samos, German Excavations (Technau *A.M.* 1929 Beil. 12, 4) should now be Fikellura.

in B 1 the ear is most fully evolved, and the tail has lost its knob. The sphinx and the griffin are now definitely added to the repertory of this group, as was to be expected. The belly frieze is here certainly as important as the shoulder panel.

H 9. Philadelphia 12228. Amphora. Ht. ·405 m. Surface badly perished. Neck, triple cable. Shoulder, tongues: comasts, four on each side carousing round dinos or pithos,—accessories oinochoai, phiale, kantharoi (?); under one handle, dog of late Lion Group type; under

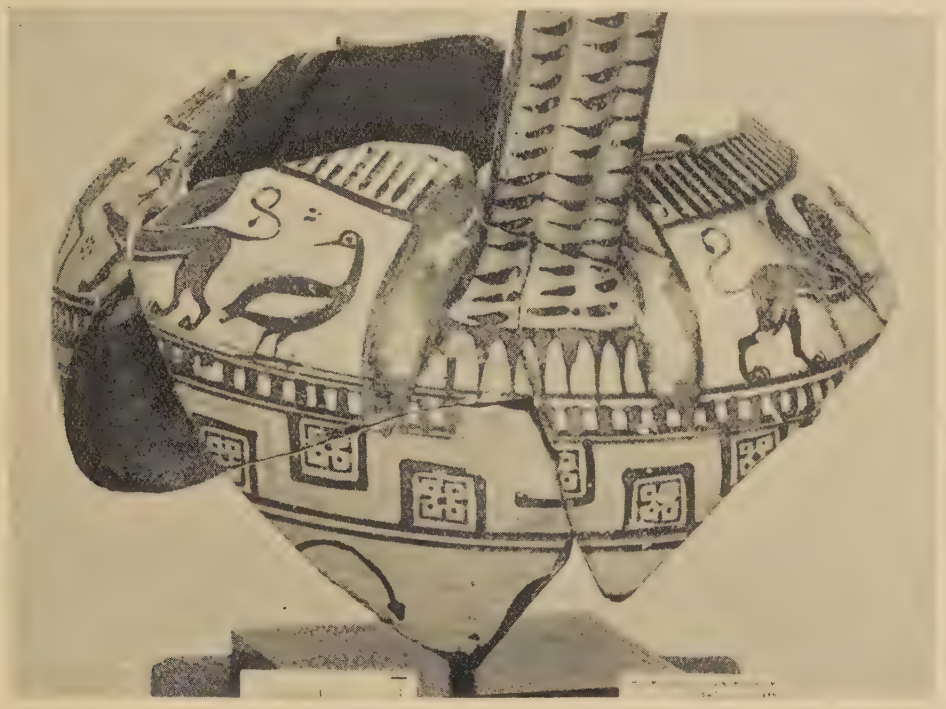

Fig. 20.—B 1 *a*.

the other, hare. Belly, open cable: crescents: alternate dots: lotus flowers and buds, unjoined: crescents: tongues. Purple on occasional crescents. From Rhodes.

Most of the ornaments can be paralleled in the Altenburg Group; but the style of the figures perhaps fits better here. The animals under the handles are a novelty. The dog is stalking and shows all four legs. The general composition of this piece seems unhappy.

Boeotian imitation of Fikellura Athens 418. Handleless cup with flat base. Diameter ·21 m.: ht. ·105 m. Clay pinkish. No slip. Two comasts r., one l. playing flute, seated woman r. playing flute, four comasts

r., two l., bearded ithyphallic satyr, Dionysos about to kill long-legged bird (perhaps crane). Incision for pectorals, nipples, circles on buttocks of comasts; and for most details of satyr and Dionysos. From Thebes. Couve *B.C.H.* 1898, 289–293, fig. on p. 289 (sketch showing Dionysos and satyr). Fig. 21.

In general the style of this piece imitates Fikellura. The comasts are closest; but there is an over-elaboration of detail—note the markings of the chest, as frequently in contemporary Attic—and the proportions are clumsy and distorted. The male flautist seems even to have lost an arm. The condition of the satyr and his feet suggest that Fikellura satyrs also were ithyphallic and human-footed, points on which we have no direct evidence. Dionysos, with the bird biting his nose (?), might almost be a

Fig. 21.—Boeotian Imitation of Fikellura.

parody of the Dionysos of Y 12 (Plate 12): some such figure must surely have served for the model. The bud behind the satyr might belong to the New York Group. Provenance and style, and also the fabric, are strong evidence that this is a Boeotian imitation of Fikellura, with some Attic influence in the representation of inner detail.

List of Provenances.

For Rhodes the list includes finds up to July 1935; for the Samian Heraion to April 1934. The list from South Russia is very defective: my knowledge of the finds there is casual.

An *asterisk* means that the attribution is probable, but not certain.

Rhodes.[1] *Camiros:* D 3; J 12; L 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13*, 14, 16, 17, 18; M 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9; N 2, 7; O 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8; P 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15; Q 6, 8, 9, 14; R 1; S 1; T 1; Y, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 24, 26, 27, 28, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 41 *a*, 42, 43, 44, 45.

[1] From the campaigns of Biliotti and Salzmann: G 1, 11; J 12; L 1, 2(?), 3, 5 *a**, 7, 8, 9*, 13 (?), 14, 15*, 19 (?); M 1, 2*, 3, 3 *a**, 5 (?); N 7; O 3, 6*, 7, 8; P 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10*; Q 7 (?), 9*, 13(?), 14; R 1, 5 *a**; S 1 (?); Y 6, 10, 14, 24, 26*, 27, 28, 31, 42.

Ialysos : F 5; G 16; L 5; N 4, 6; P 5, 11; Y 12 *a*, 16, 41 *b*.
Lindos : a few fragments (see p. 88).
Siana : G 1; L 7, 15.
Zeus Atabyrios : P 22.
exact provenance unknown : E 2 (?); G 11; L 2, 3, 5 *a**, 19; M 1, 3*a**, 5; O 7; P 2, 4; Q 7, 13; R 5*a**; Y 29, 31, 42 *a*; H 9.
Nisyros : M 10, Q 15.
Samos. Old Town : A 1*; B 6; C 7*; E 4; G 14; H 8; Q 10; R 5; S 6, 7; U 2, 5; V 2; W 2, 3, 4, 10, 11*; Y 5; Z 3; and a few fragments.
Heraion : E 3, 5; G 12; H 6, 7; K 3, 6; Q 3; R 7, 8; S 11; T 2, 7; U 4; W 7, 8; X 1; Y 4; Z 1, 9, 10.
Exact provenance unknown : P 20 (?).
Ephesos : one fragment (see p. 89).
Miletus : B 14; S 8; and fragments (see p. 89).
Smyrna : G *fin. a*.
Asia Minor (exact provenance unknown): E 6.

Delos (and Rheneia) : C 2; G 2, 3, 5, 10, 15; J 11; N 5 *a*; Q 17 *a*; R 6, [12]; Y 23; and a few fragments.

Aegina : G 13, G *fin. b*; Y 1, 13, 19; and possibly J 1.
Athens : four fragments (see p. 85).
Eleusis : Y *group* 1 *fin.*
Corinth : B 16.
Delphi : Y 30.

Italy (exact provenance unknown) : D 1*; Q 1; Y 20*, 21*.
Caere : R 4.
Syracuse : Y 7.

Cyprus : B 1*a*; N 1; Y 11.

Egypt (exact provenance unknown) : R 9*.
Naucratis (provenance certain) : B 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, *fin.*; C 4, 4 *a*, 6; E 1; F 2, 3; G 4; H 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; J 2, 3, 5, 13; K 5, 7, 8, 10; M *fin.*; N 5 *c*; Q 4, 5, 11, 12; R 2, 3, 10, 11; S 3, 5, 9, 10; T 4, 6; U 1, 3, 6, 7; W 6, 9, 12; Y 2; Z 2, 4, 5, 12.
Naucratis or Tell Defenneh : G 7, 8; P 18, 19; Q 17 *b*; S 4*; T 5; W 1, 5; Y 3*; Z 6, 7, 8.
Tell Defenneh (or Naucratis) :[1] C 3; J 8; P 16; T 3; Z 11.
Tell Defenneh (provenance certain) : B 1, 2, 4; C 1; D 2; F 1; G 3 *a*, 6; J 6, 7, 10; N 3, 5 *b*; P 17; Q 2.

[1] See p. 87, n. 2.

Delta : K 2*; L 6*; N 8*.
Abusir : T 8.
Memphis : P 23 *c*.
Luxor : G 9.

Elaeus : Y 9.
Apollonia Pontica : C 5; G *fin. c*; P 23 *a*; Y 22 *a*; Z 14.
Istria : U 8; Y 38; and see p. 85.
Berezan : B 17; F 4; J 4, 9; K 1, 9; PP 1; Q 17*c*; Z 13.
Olbia : K 4; P 23 *b*; S 2; Y 17.
Kertsch : Y 37.
South Russia (*exact provenance unknown*) *:* S 12*.

Conclusion.

For photographs reproduced here my thanks are due to the following: Prof. J. D. Beazley (Pl. 10 *c*, Fig. 5), Herr F. Brommer (Pls. 6, 17 *e*), Dr. L. D. Caskey (Pls. 8 *c*, 17 *g*), Freiherr von Gabelentz (Pl. 11 *c*), Dr. R. Heidenreich (Pls. 5, 8 *e*, 14 *c*, frag. B), Prof. P. Jacobsthal (Fig. 6), Dr. E. Kunze (Pls. 2, 3 *a*), Graf Anton Lanckoronski (Pl. 13), Mr. E. A. Lane (Pls. 11 *b*, 14 *b*), Mr. H. G. G. Payne (Pl. 11 *a*), Miss G. M. A. Richter (Figs. 3 and 4), Dr. K. Schefold (Pls. 8 *b*, 10 *e*), and the authorities of the Antiquarium, Berlin (Pl. 9), of the British Museum (Pl. 16 *a*), and of the Badener Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Fig. 2). To Herr Brommer and Mr. Lane I am indebted for many notes and photographs; to Mr. Lane also for references to Laconian chronology. Dr. Kunze very kindly let me see the proofs of his article in *A.M.* 1934. Dr. Laurenzi has generously allowed me to use the unpublished finds from his recent excavations at Ialysos. Mr. G. A. Short gave me much help in museums in Bulgaria and Rumania.

Finally, I wish to express my warmest thanks to all those who have helped me by their kindness and advice—in particular Mr. H G. G. Payne, Director of the British School at Athens, who directed my studies, Prof. J. D. Beazley, Dr. E. Kunze, Prof. P. Jacobsthal, Prof. T B. L. Webster, the authorities of the British Museum, Dr. G. Jacopi and Dr. L. Laurenzi in Rhodes, and Prof. E. Buschor in Samos; and not least to Clare College, Cambridge, the Trustees of the Walston Studentship and the Managers of the Craven and Worts Funds, by whose generosity I was enabled to research.

R. M. Cook.

LAKONIAN VASE-PAINTING

(Plates 20–49)

Introduction.

The material for a study of Lakonian pottery may be roughly divided into two classes; first, the vases scattered through the museums of Europe, mostly found outside Greece, in tolerably good preservation, but covering a comparatively short period of time; secondly, the mass of pottery unearthed during the excavations of the British School at Athens in Lakonia itself. The latter consists mainly of fragments, but represents the continuous product of about four centuries, and in the sanctuary of Orthia we have the inestimable advantages offered by a well-stratified site.

Literature on the subject prior to 1926 occupies four and a half pages of notes in Pfuhl's great work,[1] but of this apparent wealth the bulk is formed by passing references or the publication of a few vases at a time. The chief authorities are Dugas, who has concerned himself mainly with the literary aspects as shewn by the exported vases,[2] and Droop, who has in addition published the material from Lakonia and given us the only connected account of the whole fabric.[3] My excuses for supplementing the admirable work already done in this field must be, first, the direct evidence provided by hitherto unpublished Lakonian vases, and second, the indirect evidence which can be drawn from comparison with other fabrics which have only recently been carefully studied. The scope of the present article extends from the later phases of the Geometric period down to the decomposition of the local style, roughly from 750 to 525 B.C. In approaching the material from a stylistic point of view, I have in many cases come to conclusions different from those of Droop; these are partly concerned with the question of absolute dates, on which he himself does not feel strongly,[4] and partly with the interpretation to be placed upon

[1] *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* i, 83, 120, and 229 ff.

[2] Articles in *R.A.* ix (1907), x (1907), xix (1912), xx (1912), xxvii (1928).

[3] *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, ed. by R. M. Dawkins, London, 1929 (hereafter referred to as *A.O.*). Pp. 52–116 recapitulate scattered articles which had previously appeared in *B.S.A.* For the vases from the Akropolis *B.S.A.* xxviii 49–81 is important, and *J.H.S.* 1910, 1–34 is an attempt to date the exported vases by comparison with evidence derived from the stratification at Sparta.

[4] See *J.H.S.* 1932, 303–4.

the evidence of stratification.[1] In addition, my preference for style as opposed to technique as a criterion of date has led me to re-shuffle the positions of many sixth-century vases, but in no case does this conflict with the spade-evidence from Orthia.[2]

During the Geometric period the Peloponnese had three flourishing pottery centres. In the north-east, the factories of Corinth dominated the Isthmus, spreading eastward to the island of Aegina, south to the plain of Argos, and westward along the Corinthian Gulf to Perachora and Antikyra.[3] At Argos there was a fabric with a rich and distinctive local character; beyond the sites in the Argolid—the Heraeum, Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine—fragments have been found as far south as Tegea.[4] But it appears that early in the seventh century the Argive factories closed down before the encroachment of 'Protocorinthian,' and Argive vases with Post-Geometric or Orientalising decoration are rare and isolated stragglers.[5] Beyond the Parnon range, Sparta lay remote; her local manufactures were in no danger of being swamped by mass-importation from Corinth. It must not be supposed, however, that sea and mountains cut her off from the fashions which succeeded each other in the rest of the Greek world. Small quantities of Protocorinthian pottery, datable in the eighth century, were discovered in company with the fragments of local make, and isolated finds shew that first Protocorinthian, then Corinthian, vases were imported throughout the seventh century. We can even infer that these imports were more numerous than their discovered remains would suggest, for from the later phases of the Geometric period onwards we find in Lakonian pottery constant echoes of the style current at the time in Corinth. These are most striking in the Geometric vases which I shall first describe. During the earlier part of the seventh century the Protocorinthian fabric adopted floral motives and an incised technique which failed to arouse emulation at Sparta, and for a time the two wares seem to part company. But in the last quarter of the century Sparta too accepted the black-figure style, and a second wave of Corinthian influence began which lasted for about the next seventy-five years. One purpose of my article will be to trace this intimate connection between the two Peloponnesian vase fabrics, and to shew that Lakonian pottery cannot be divorced from its context in early Greek art.

[1] See pp. 128 ff. below, where this is more fully explained.

[2] Droop himself at times admits the necessity of using evidence of style to assist that of stratification when this is not entirely satisfactory.

[3] There is Protocorinthian and Corinthian from Soteriades' excavations here in the Chaironeia Museum.

[4] Tegea had a Geometric style of its own. The clay is soft and powdery, but yellower than the typical orange-red clay of Lakonia. See *B.C.H.* 1921, 404–414.

[5] For example, Waldstein *Argive Heraeum* ii 117 fig. 42; 159 fig. 93; 161 fig. 94.

The present article was undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Humfry Payne, Director of the British School at Athens, and my obligation to him for subsequent help and advice is great; the Governing Body of St. John's College, Cambridge have been most generous in giving me financial support. I should also like to thank the staffs of all the Museums where I have studied, and others, too numerous to mention by name, without whose assistance this work would not have been possible.[1]

Late Geometric.

With the Protogeometric and Early Geometric pottery at Sparta I do not feel competent to deal, nor do I think the mass of characterless fragments would yield much to the most patient investigator. But there are many pieces, mainly from Orthia, which I believe to be late, datable in the eighth century; of these it is possible to reconstruct the shape and decoration with a degree of certainty. It should not be imagined that the collection here illustrated is anything like complete, for most of the larger vases are so shattered as to make their reconstruction a matter for conjecture—with the dubious results seen in *A.O.* fig. 31.[2]

Until the eighth century Geometric decoration in Lakonia is feeble in the extreme; bands, lozenges, simple meanders, concentric circles[3] surround the vase in a monotonous 'umlaufstil' very rarely spiced by the introduction of figures. There is no trace of the 'tektonisch' influence which Schweitzer derives from the islands and the east,[4] no parallel for the elaborate architecture of Attic Dipylon and the Argive kraters. But in the eighth century a new movement begins; the decorative bands are vertically punctuated and a discreet use of 'metopes' becomes common. That these vases are comparatively late is shewn, partly by the occurrence of patterns which are frequent on Protocorinthian, partly by the gradual infiltration of Orientalising motives. Fig. 1 is the most elaborate example of a whole class; the step-meander points to Argos, but the birds are pure

[1] I am especially indebted to Professor Ernst Buschor, who gave me every help in studying the material in Samos and allowed me to publish several fragments; to Dr. Bartoccini, for permission to publish the vases at Taranto, and to Professor J. D. Beazley for photographs and advice. Photographs of vases in the British Museum, at Leipzig, at Taranto, and at Boston were kindly provided by the authorities at the Museums concerned, and Fig. 8 A and B are from negatives in the possession of the Hellenic Society.

[2] See also Kunze's review of *Artemis Orthia*, *Gnomon* ix 4.

[3] A table of motives is given in *A.M.* 1927, 51 fig. 29 (the wavy lines late). From the number of fragments, one presumes that large, unslipped vases with compass-drawn circles were made at Sparta over a long period, and were still produced after the introduction of slip for the more careful work. A similar love of circles is to be noticed in the Cretan, Boeotian, and 'Theran' Geometric styles, but I doubt if there is any conscious connection between these and Lakonian.

[4] *A.M.* 1918, 53 ff.

Protocorinthian, and the 'running dog' heralds the approach of the Orientalising style. On lakainai and cups, the handle-zone is regularly bounded at both ends by vertical lines, as on Protocorinthian kotylai and cups; that this correspondence is no mere coincidence is proved by two aryballoi which were deliberate copies of Protocorinthian originals.[1] I shall deal with these late Geometric vases according to shapes, with an added note on the scheme of decoration.

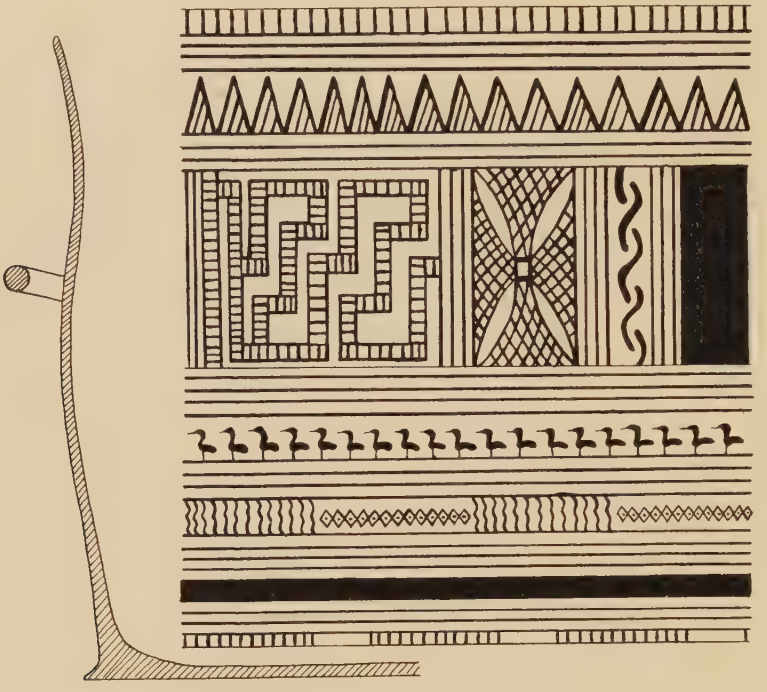

FIG. 1.—GEOMETRIC PYXIS.

A. SHAPES.

Lakaina. PLATE 20 *e* = FIG. 2 C–E. This shape enjoyed long popularity at Sparta, and is thus often regarded as peculiar to the fabric. But there are a few lakainai belonging to other wares.[2] Apparently it evolved from a cup like FIG. 2 A (*B.S.A.* xiii 125 fig. 5),[3] FIG. 2 B being an intermediary shape. I found no remains of a cup like the common Attic type, *J.H.S.* 1932, 273 fig. 3, which might be an alternative source.

[1] See p. 107, FIG. 4 and PLATE 25 *e*.

[2] Attic: Boston *Cat.* 274 (plate 24). Boeotian: Würzburg *Kat.* 73, plate 4; Berlin, *J.d.I.* 1888, 340 fig. 17; Florence 4316, 4319. One from Keos in Heidelberg, perhaps Boeotian.

[3] The foot in this drawing is a conjectural and unconvincing restoration.

Fig. 2 E is early seventh century, and shews a tendency for that outward curve of the lip which later became more marked.

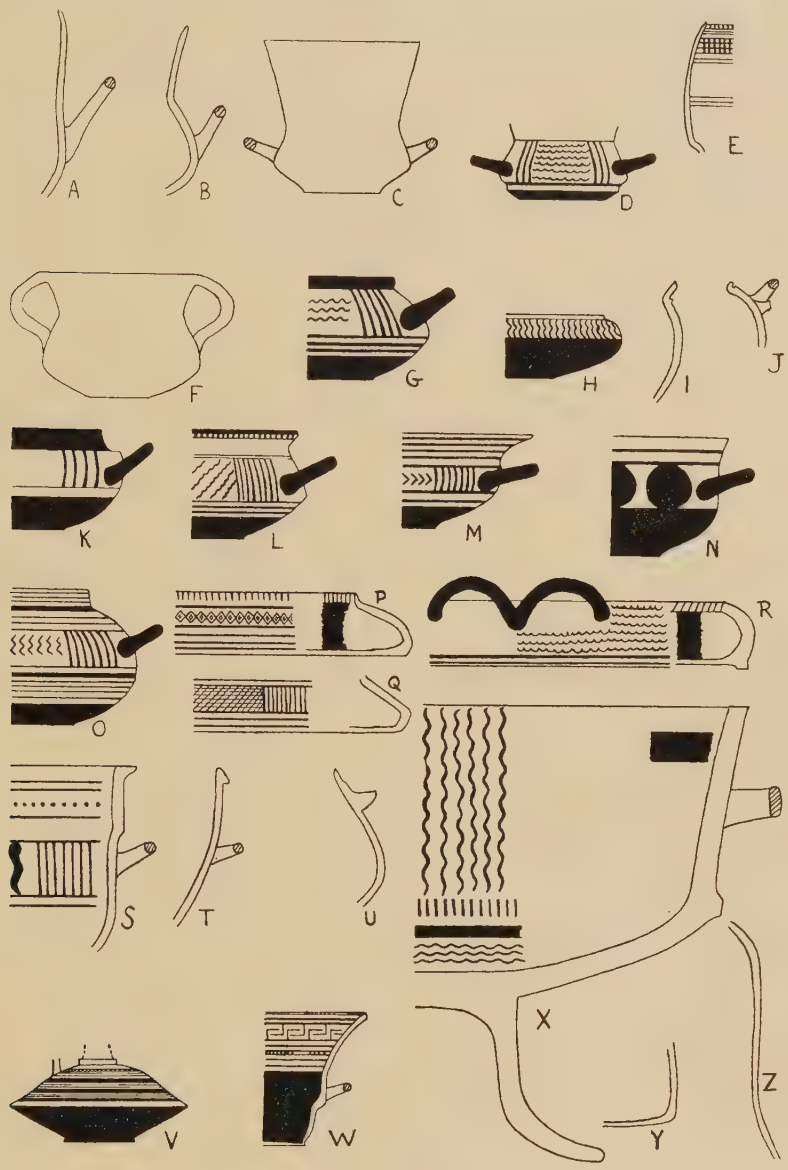

Fig. 2.—Late Geometric Shapes.

Two-handled Mug. Fig. 2 F = Plate 20 *a*.
Small Cups. Fig. 2 M is worth comparing with a well-known Attic

type,[1] though it is less sharply metallic in contour. Attic examples are late (one in M. Vlastos' collection was found in a grave with a hydria of 'Analatos' style); in Lakonia the interior is always black except for the lip, which has narrow bands on slip. FIG. 2 I = PLATE 21 *c*, unslipped and very late; J = PLATE 21 *h*, also unslipped; perhaps it had a plastic bird on the handle like PLATE 21 *g*. The groove near the rim is a link with the local 'bird bowls' (see p. 115).

Dishes. FIG. 2 P, Q, R, are broad, flat dishes with an incurved rim, varnished black inside (cf. *A.O.* fig. 31 *a*).

Bowls. FIG. 2 S, a tall bowl, is fairly common and may well continue into the Transitional stage. T = *A.O.* fig. 39 *s*; U has pierced lugs but no handles.

Oinochoe. There are many tall, thin necks, often strutted, like *A.O.* fig. 31 *o*, but in that drawing the foot is not convincing. FIG. 2 V, of which the body survives entire, is a shape for which I know no close parallel; it is evidently an isolated example. One fragment came from a conical oinochoe, like the Protocorinthian (PLATE 20 *f*, unslipped). FIG. 2 Z (= PLATE 20 *c*) presents a problem; the interior is very rough and unpainted, the exterior slipped. No trace of a handle or neck remains, but I think it belongs to a very tall oinochoe with a foot splayed out flat.

Kalathos. FIG. 2 W (= PLATE 20 *d*) is slipped, with varnish burnt bright red. The curious bulge in the contour is a characteristic which becomes very pronounced in the 'Transitional' vases, and I do not think the shape is common in the pure Geometric style. Another fragment of identical shape is decorated with hook-spirals and check-pattern, clearly Transitional.

Large Standed Bowl. FIG. 2 X. These are fairly common and often attain a great size; one from Orthia, of which a good deal is preserved, must have been about seventy cm. in diameter at the lip. The rectangular ridge at the bottom of the side suggests that these vases overlap the Transitional period and link up with the Orientalising; at any rate *A.O.* fig. 41 A seems to have come from a bowl of this kind. But decoration usually consists of wavy lines, horizontal or vertical, on an unslipped surface.

Pyxides. Examples shaped like *A.O.* fig. 31 *p* are extremely common, and many shew the 'running dog' pattern which foreshadows the Orientalising style. A larger version is FIG. 1, of which the fragments permit complete reconstruction. Sometimes these have horizontal handles, as shewn, sometimes a ribbon handle running vertically down from the lip. The latter could not have had a slip-over lid, but of the numerous flat lids which remain, few have a flange to hold them in place. Perhaps this was done by pins passed through the holes always to be found near

[1] Pfuhl *op. cit.* i 71, *A.A.* 1913, 444 fig. 2; Würzburg *Kat.* 58 pl. 4, etc.

the edge. Fig. 2 y (= Plate 21 *b*) is unslipped and has a broad purple band round it; I think it very late, probably seventh century.[1] Similar fragments are often covered with black glaze; two painted sherds were found at Tegea. Lakonia evidently had a predilection for tall, cylindrical shapes, ranging from the pure Geometric of 'Εφημ. 1892 pl. 4, 1 and 2, down to the end of the archaic period.

Ring-vase. Plate 21 *d* is the mouth of a horizontal ring-vase, square in section.[2] I know no other mainland examples of the horizontal shape; Protocorinthian ring-vases, though square in section, are always vertical,[3] and Cycladic or East-Greek specimens, when horizontal, are round in section.[4] There is one earlier ring-vase from Sparta,[5] the slipped sherd Fig. 10 a; to judge from what remains of the handle, this was vertical. The projection on the inside is hard to explain, as it suggests a tubular connection bridging the centre of the ring.

Hydria. Plate 20 *b* is probably of late Geometric date, and is illustrated because nearly complete.

B. DECORATION.

First, a note on technique will be in place. Slip was introduced quite early in Geometric times, but though regularly used on the better vases was by no means universal. Thus 'Εφημ. 1892 pl. 4, 2 is unslipped, though in every way a careful and excellent piece of work. The slip on Geometric fragments is thin, greyish, and easy to rub off, this being due to the very low temperature of firing. If slip was dispensed with, a much higher temperature was possible and the clay came out hard, the varnish shot with an iridescent gleam of green. At the very end of the Geometric period there came a fashion for omitting the slip and firing the clay hard; the vases treated in this way have a very distinctive style of decoration, and to them I shall refer as ' unslipped linear ' ware.

When Protocorinthian influence first made itself felt, most of the vases were slipped. Fig. 3 shews most of the patterns in vogue[6]; it will be seen that except for the circular motives, these are extremely simple. Some of the circles recall the Theran and Cretan Geometric styles, but I

[1] The fragment is upside-down in the photograph.

[2] Slipped. On the upper surface, cross-hatching; on the side, a simple unhatched meander. The fragment is broken off close behind the neck, on which is no trace of a handle.

[3] Johansen *Les Vases Sicyoniens* 27.

[4] *Délos* x. pls. xvi, xvii.

[5] Later evidence for the shape: Transitional, *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *i* and *k* (these are from the same vase, the rays being on the inner, the cable on the outer surface of the ring). Sixth century; p. 197.

[6] Fig. 3, third in second row, appears also on Plate 21 *e*.

doubt if there is any connection between them beyond that of date; far more prominent is the Protocorinthian fashion for metopes with isolated motives floating in a blank space. In narrow bands we find groups of

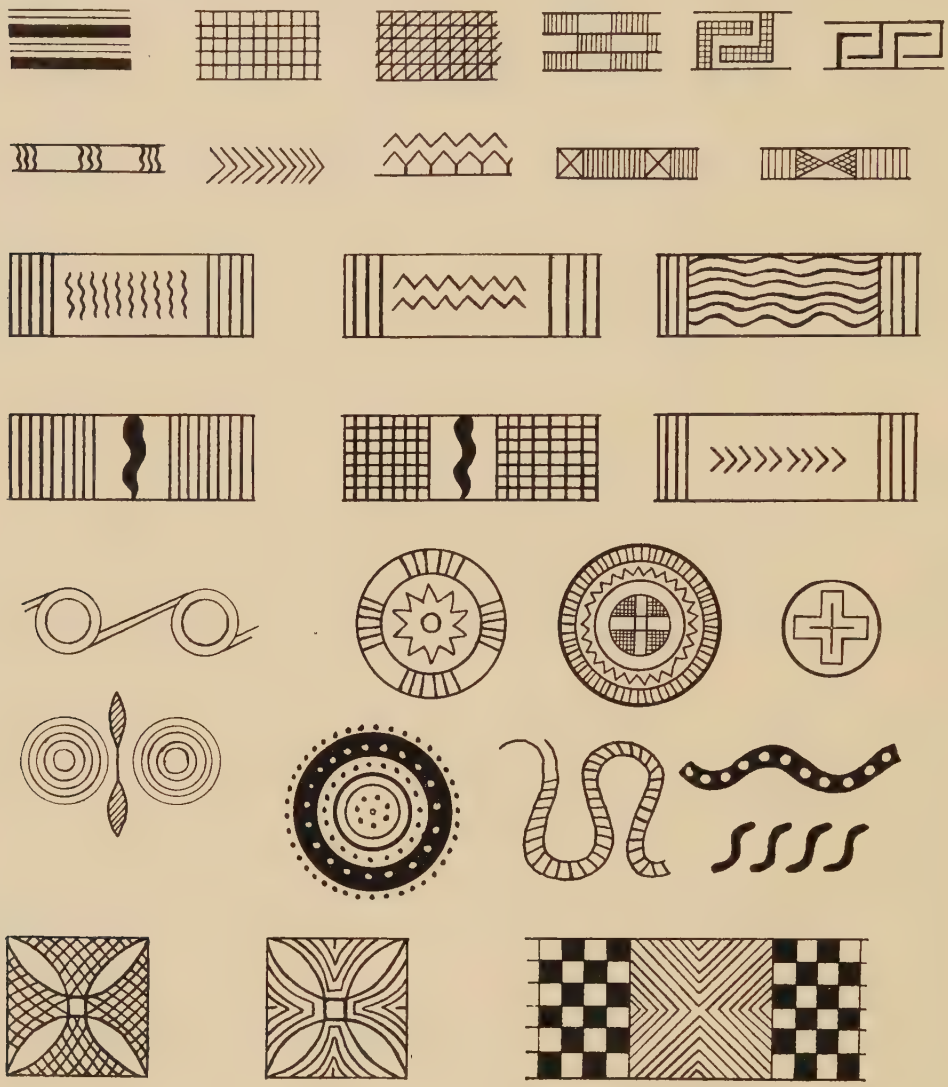

Fig. 3.—Late Geometric Patterns.

vertical lines alternating with a blank square or rectangular space; the latter was sometimes partly filled with a ' dumb-bell ' or cross, but sometimes left open. This is the germ of that feeling for tonal quality, the

alternation of dark and light, which reaches fuller expression in the check-pattern of the ' Transitional ' stage.

The decoration of the large pyxis, FIG. 1, has already been mentioned as shewing Argive, Protocorinthian, and Orientalising features; the ' running dog ' and fine, unhatched hook-meander (FIG. 2 W) are the first motives to appear from the Orientalising repertory, and often occur on vases where the remaining ornament is strictly Geometric.

Perhaps contemporary with the ' Transitional ' vases about the end of the eighth century and continuing down to the rise of the full Orientalising style, are the ' unslipped linear ' vases. Typical specimens are shewn on PLATE 21 *a–c*, *f*, *h*; plain lines or parallel zigzags, sometimes a rough check-pattern, and a row of dots along the lip form the usual repertory. The varnish is thinned and brushwork very hasty; apparently the decoration was not intended to have any intrinsic interest of its own. It would seem to be another experiment in tone values, with solid black varnish at one

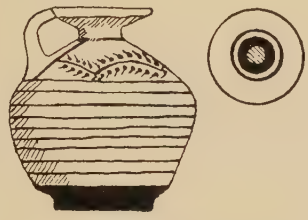

FIG. 4.—LATE GEOMETRIC OR TRANSITIONAL ARYBALLOS (cf. pp. 102, 112).

end of the scale, bare clay at the other, and the linear decorations a kind of pencil shading between the two. The shapes so treated are mainly small bowls (PLATE 21 *c*), lakainai (FIG. 2 E), tall pyxides (PLATE 21 *f* is a fragment with rough check-pattern and panelled surface), and large standed bowls (FIG. 2 X).[1]

TRANSITIONAL.

In Lakonia, true Geometric regards the surface of a vase as a space which must be filled with unbroken bands of ornament. But in the late Geometric with which I have just been dealing, I hinted at a new conception of decoration where ornament alternates with empty space. It was not long before this rhythmic alternation, filling and space, developed into a fashion where tonal contrast, dark against light, was the effect desired. Schweitzer, in *A.M.* 1918, 116 ff., finely distinguishes this

[1] Closely similar vases were being made at Argos about the same time, *viz.* *Argive Heraeum* ii pl. LVI 6–10 and p. 117 fig. 42; *Tiryns* i pl. 19, 1–4, p. 145; Schweitzer, *A.M.* 1918, 88 ff. That they are very late is shewn by the use of outline technique for the heads and hair of the figures and by the stalk-rosette on *Argive Heraeum* ii pl. LVI 10.

'malerisch' treatment from the preceding 'tektonisch' style, where patterns depend for emphasis upon their size and arrangement, and all have approximately the same tonal value, produced where necessary by hatching. On the fragments under consideration, the attempt to set off clear light spaces against solid patches of black leads to the abandonment of hatching in the triangles and meanders; the check-pattern becomes so popular as to be a hall-mark of the style, and an analogous idea lies behind the alternate parallel bands of dark and light, equal in width, to be seen, for example, on *A.O.* fig. 38 β. The new importance attached to tonal values leads to a marked improvement in the slip, which is much thicker and whiter than on most Geometric vases, and in the black varnish, thickly laid on and never over-fired. Sometimes, as on the krater PLATE 22 *b* there is no slip, but the clay is fine and of a brilliant orange colour.

As usual, the absence of complete vases makes a survey of shapes difficult, but FIG. 5 shews a selection of fragments with the patterns drawn beside them.[1]

A. SHAPES.

Small bowls like FIG. 5 A are very common, the interior being varnished or covered with plain white slip. One bears a frieze of rudimentary pomegranates, and a most unusual motive of two interlocking snakes [2] is found on the larger bowl, FIG. 5 B (PLATE 24 *h*).

The low *pyxis* on FIG. 5 E [3] appears to be an isolated specimen of a shape very common at Corinth.[4] FIG. 5 F, G shew the successors of the tall pyxides with Geometric decoration, while C and D provide evidence for the existence of a pyxis with a full, rounded body.

The *lakaina* bowl of FIG. 5 H (PLATE 24 *j*) already shews the filled triangles treated as rays, and lip fragments from others are decorated with the check pattern. FIG. 5 J is a two-handled cup of related shape.

Conical Oinochoai. FIG. 5 K, L (= PLATE 23 *c*) and M [5] illustrate the popularity of broken contours in the Transitional period, a purely local development of the Protocorinthian shape copied by the fragment on PLATE 20 *f*.

Oinochoe. FIG. 5 O is a small neck with a flat, cushioned lip. A very large trefoil-lipped oinochoe, with a curious auxiliary handle at the front,

[1] Profiles to right, the whole right half of the vase being shewn when possible. The outside decoration is drawn to the right of the fragment, the inside to the left.

[2] Though simple dotted snakes are a commonplace in Protocorinthian—see Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens* pl. V 1.

[3] Fragments in the British Museum and Cambridge (*C.V.A. Cambridge* i, III D, pl. 3, no. 117). There is no slip, but the technique of the vase is excellent.

[4] Johansen *op. cit.* 30–31.

[5] In Oxford, badly worn, but shewing traces of a 'running dog' pattern round the body.

is shewn in *A.O.* fig. 36. The neck has a pronounced convex bulge; plastic snakes attached to a handle occur on several other fragments to be

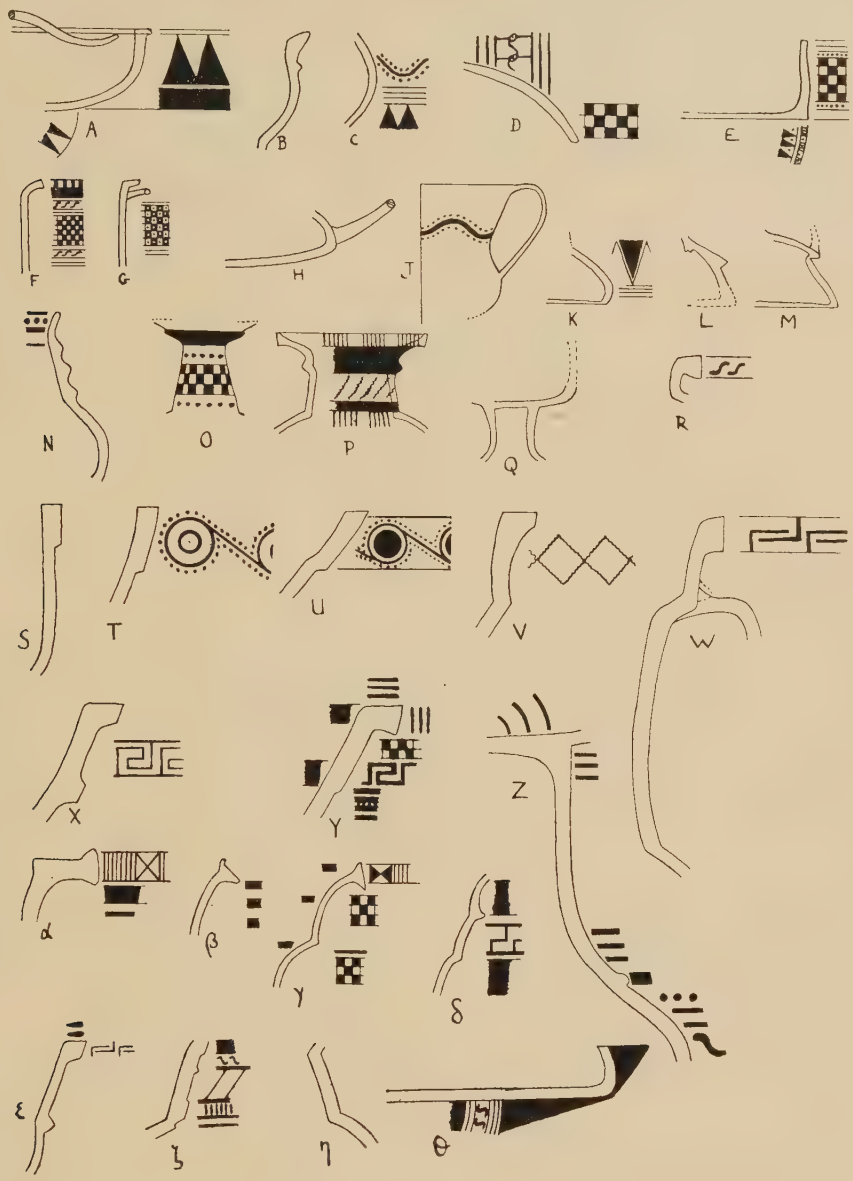

FIG. 5.—TRANSITIONAL SHAPES.

dated about this time, and a natural comparison is with Attic hydriai of the Analatos group. But here is no ornament that can be definitely

called 'Orientalising,' though the startling prominence given to patterns on neck and shoulder, by a heavy use of black against a white field, is a treatment quite alien to true Geometric.

Hydria(?). Fig. 5 P is drawn from a neck of which only one side is preserved, without trace of a handle; it probably belongs to a hydria. Sharply contrasting curves in the profile, as on the kalathoi.

Chalice. Fig. 5 Q (= Plate 24 *p*) is from a cylindrical open pot on a high foot, a shape which, with several variants, persists well down into the archaic period. Decoration on the body was a complicated series of meanders executed in thin wavy lines; the fragments Plate 24 *l*, *o* were no doubt from similar vases.[1] From Samos there are many East Greek examples,[2] but I do not know if any can be dated as early as this.

Plates. So far as I know, there are no purely Geometric plates, but fragments bearing a Transitional stamp are very common, and at least one has the Orientalising tongue-pattern (Fig. 6 E). The shape differs from that commonest in Protocorinthian, where a steep, straight lip forms a sharp angle with the bottom and a raised ring surrounds the edge of the base;[3] typical examples are shewn on Fig. 6[4] and Plate 22 *c*. Fig. 6 E is represented by one sherd only; the centre of B is missing. Other published pieces are *A.O.* figs. 33, 38 *s*, *w*, *h*. Wavy lines in vertical, diagonal or herring-bone formation round a central star or rosette form the principal motives of decoration.

Krater. Plate 22 *b* is a small strap-handled krater,[5] from Orthia or the Heröon. It is unslipped, with a slightly raised flange round the lip. The decoration dates it to the early Transitional period, but fragmentary handles were found which might belong to earlier vases. The neck is very high, differing from that of the Argive and Protocorinthian kraters, but evidence is entirely lacking to shew a Lakonian local type developing through the seventh century to the common column-kraters of the sixth. The shape must have become obsolete until its resurrection in a new form.

Krateriskos. B.S.A. xxviii 54 fig. 2 is not an aryballos, for it had no handle and the mouth is too wide to be corked. But it belongs here, and Fig. 5 R shews a fragment from a larger specimen with 'running dog' on the lip.[6]

[1] Note the dots of added white paint on the meanders.

[2] Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. VI, 1. Fragments were apparently found with the monstrous Lakonian pot mentioned on p. 136 below, dating from the early sixth century.

[3] *Arg. Her.* ii 141–2 figs. 76–82 shew a series of Protocorinthian plates, and fig. 82 is not far removed from the Lakonian form. There are many Protocorinthian plate fragments from Perachora, some of new shapes; vertical wavy lines, black triangles, and a pointed leaf-rosette are features of the decoration.

[4] Fig. 6 C shews respectively the upper and under surfaces of the same plate.

[5] A handle from a similar vase is published in *C.V.A. Cambridge* i, III D, pl. 3, no. 10.

[6] Fig. 11 W is a Lakonian II fragment, evidently of the same shape, found at the Menelaion.

Open Bowls. Fig. 5 s (= Plate 23 *f*). Dancing women in a frieze, with long girdles hanging from the waist, bear to Argive Geometric [1] a

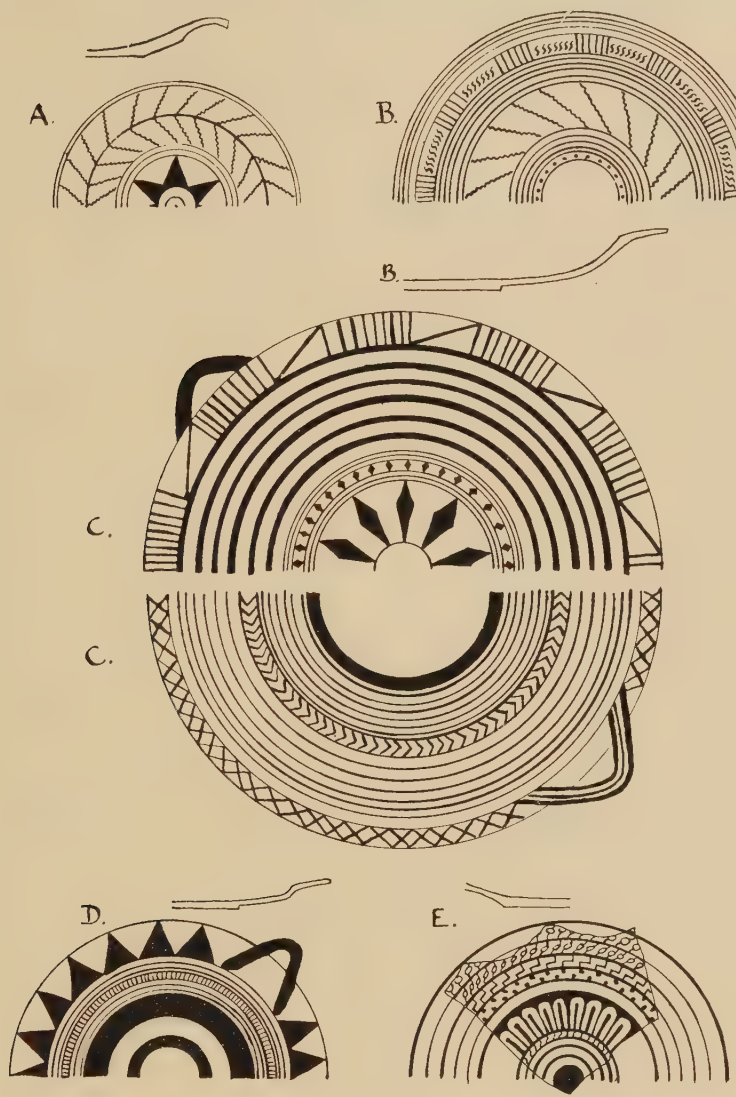

Fig. 6.—Transitional Plates.

resemblance too close to be purely fortuitous. Evidently no Argive sherds were found at Sparta, but they occur at Tegea and no doubt some of the strap-handled kraters penetrated further. *A.O.* fig. 37 *d*, *e* may be

[1] Cf. *Arg. Her.* ii pl. LVII 15–18.

contemporary, though the scale is too small to permit hatching for the dress. Filled triangles and circular black blobs on PLATE 23 *f* connect the piece with *A.O.* fig. 36; both come early in the transitional period. Some of the other bowl-lips drawn, FIG. 5 T, U, V, X, Y, may be as late as the seventh century; a notable feature is the painting of broad black bands on the slipped interior. FIG. 5 Z, a huge, tall stand, probably supported an open bowl, not a krater, because of the concentric circles painted inside at the top.

Amphora. FIG. 5 W is an amphora-neck of equally generous proportions,[1] which bore a bold check-pattern; bosses to imitate rivets on either side of the handle shew the incipient influence of metal work.

Kalathos. This is very common. Small ones usually have unpierced sides and a sharp kink in profile (FIG. 5 β, γ, δ, ε); [2] larger ones have slots or triangular openings in successive stories separated by a bold horizontal ridge (FIG. 5 3).

Aryballos. FIG. 4 [3] and PLATE 25 *e* shew two aryballoi which should be added to Johansen's list of imitations of Protocorinthian.[4] The second (unslipped) has incised fishes copied literally from vases like Johansen *op. cit.* 53 fig. 31, and pl. IV, 3 and 7, even down to the incised markings on the fish, for incision is unheard of at Sparta for almost a century after this aryballos was made.[5] Below the neck is a step-pattern, and round the edge of the shoulder a black band divided by incision into squares; the body shews with horizontal lines as in normal Protocorinthian aryballoi.

Other shapes. FIG. 5 N, α, η, θ. The sherd α perhaps belonged to a large pyxis with a flat lid. PLATE η (= 23 *d*) is varnished inside. I have no idea to what shape this belongs, unless to a wide-mouthed oinochoe with a heavy, chequered dewlap. θ is slipped inside, *ca.* 38 cm. in diameter, and too thin towards the middle for a lid; probably a dish. N, in Oxford, has a badly worn check-pattern on the outside; inside varnished except the lip. PLATE 24 *a* is an amphora- or hydria-neck, PLATE 24 *b* a dish or plate, PLATE 24 *c* part of a large double handle of which all that remains rested flat against the side of a vase.

B. PATTERNS.

Most of the patterns collected here on FIG. 5, but the ornament of the late Geometric style naturally survives and is often used on the same vase as the new patterns. At the other end definitely Orientalising

[1] *Ca.* 35 cm. in diameter at lip.

[2] And the fragment *C.V.A. Cambridge* i, III D, pl. 3, no. 98.

[3] Ht. 4·5 cm. Usual Lakonian clay, slipped. Part of lip restored in the drawing. The dots are not meant to be leaves, their shape being due to careless brushwork.

[4] *Op. cit.* 173 f.

[5] *B.S.A.* xxviii 52 fig. 1 *g* is not Geometric, but a careless, unslipped piece of the archaic period. It may belong to the second half of the sixth century.

motives creep in, and the boundaries of the Transitional phase should not be too rigidly defined either in date or style. However, it is reasonable to place vases of this hybrid character in the last quarter of the eighth century, overlapping into the seventh. Kunze has shewn that the so-called 'running dog' is a simplification of the cable or guilloche,[1] and both are well represented on Lakonian fragments. The circles joined by tangents on PLATE 24 *d*, *e* are interesting by reason of their technique, reserved on a black ground. It is not necessary to press the resemblances to Cretan Geometric too far, with a view to discovering Cretan influence; rather, an imitation of embossed metal-work may have been in the potter's mind, the parts in relief being indicated by reserved slip against a black background. The use of dots in rows is very characteristic, either as a boundary to the ornament along the lip of a vase or fringing the pattern itself (FIG. 5 C, E, N, O, Z), and this may also be metallic in origin; it links up with the 'dot and square' which is almost universal on the lip of the Lakonian I

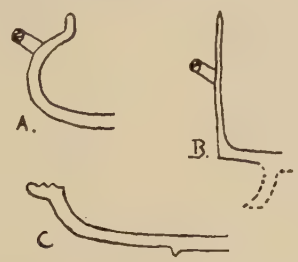

FIG. 7.—TRANSITIONAL, LAKONIAN I AND II SHAPES.

vases. The way in which black triangles developed into rays is clear from their first appearance as a corona on plates and on the lakaina base, PLATE 24 *j*, but a superstitious distrust of empty space survives from Geometric times and often a star or diamond is inserted between the rays (cf. also PLATE 23 *c*). PLATE 25 *b*, *c* shew two careless fragments with unique motives; *c* has evidently a triangle surmounted by a hooked T, very frequent in Rhodian and Samian Geometric.[2] The use of overlaid white paint is apparently confined to the latest phase of Geometric and to the Transitional style:[3] PLATE 24 *k* is the base, perhaps of an oinochoe, where the rays are done in this way, and the meanders of PLATE 24 *o* are covered with rows of white dots.

Vases with human or animal figures were certainly produced—cf. *A.O.* fig. 40 *m*, *B.S.A.* xxviii 57 fig. 4—but I shall treat of them when discussing the early Orientalising style.

Three small groups should be classed with the Transitional vases and

[1] *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 93.

[2] Cf. *A.M.* 1929, 18 fig. 10 (Samian); *Cl. Rh.* iii fig. 76; *B.C.H.* 1912, 501 figs. 7, 8 (Rhodian).

[3] See also *A.O.* 56.

probably belong to the turn of the eighth century. The first is represented by only a few sherds, illustrated on PLATE 22 *a*. Except the last two in the second and the last in the third row, these are unslipped, rather thick, burnt to a hard orange-brown, and varnished inside; they belong to small bowls like FIG. 7 A. The last two sherds in the second row come from a

FIG. 8.—TRANSITIONAL COARSE POTTERY.

lakaina with rays round the base, and are slipped; the last in the third row is made of white clay and may be a flat lakaina base. I know no parallel for the form of decoration, but they are clearly local.

The second group is represented by four vases,[1] two being illustrated

[1] The other two are like FIG. 8 B, one unslipped and unpainted. Ht. of FIG. 8 A, 20 cm.; of B, 32 cm. Coarse household ware, but interesting for the shapes; no provenance is recorded.

on FIG. 8 A, B; the second had three handles. They are mentioned by von Massow in *A.M.* 1927, 60; compare the bird with *A.O.* fig. 40 *m*, and the broad bands with those common inside the large open bowls.

The third group is that of the 'Bird Bowls.' On *A.O.* fig. 85 *c* is a fragment with the usual Lakonian clay and slip. Droop rightly took this to be a local imitation of a common East-Greek class,[1] but when he assumes that *A.O.* fig. 85 *b* and fig. 40, *l* (= our FIG. 9 B, C) is actually East-Greek, this is not so certain. The clay is quite white, very fine, and rather soft—in fact, the same kind of clay as was used for slip in Lakonia.[2] There must have been at least three birds on each side of the vase, and the lower part of the bowl was painted black. The bowl FIG. 9 A permits of complete restoration; unlike the East-Greek bowls, it has no proper foot.

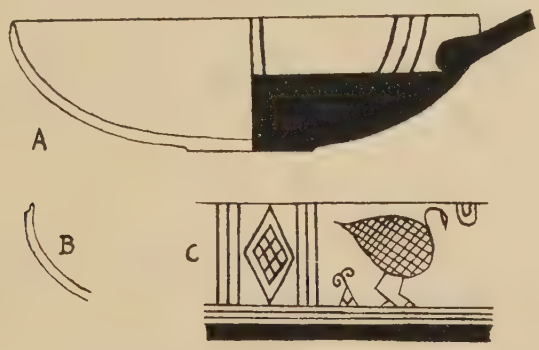

FIG. 9.—LAKONIAN IMITATIONS OF EAST-GREEK BIRD-BOWLS.

LAKONIAN I: FINE WARE.

For convenience of classification, the name Lakonian I is applied to all vases made from the introduction of Orientalising motives based on plant forms, down to the appearance of an incised black-figure style, that is, *ca.* 700–630 B.C. The earliest specimens naturally overlap with the Transitional vases, and the fact that Droop's 'Lakonian I' class was found in proximity to his 'Sub-Geometric' and to Geometric[3] (possibly of the late 'unslipped linear' class described on p. 107), shews that at least three different streams were running parallel about the beginning of the seventh century. Of these, the late Geometric soon dried up; the Transitional tradition continues with a strong experimental bias, particularly on the larger vases, but to judge from the few existing fragments both

[1] Price *East-Greek Pottery* 1–2. East-Greek examples usually have only one bird in the centre of the frieze.

[2] Other sherds made of this white clay are a fragment from a lakaina (p. 114 above), and *A.O.* fig. 42 *h*. There is in the Sparta Museum a series of miniature figurines made of the same material.

[3] *A.O.* 66, 70.

technique and syntax of ornament seem to have been clumsy. It is in the 'Lakonian I' Fine Ware, all small vases, that the future character of Lakonian pottery is decided, and with this I shall deal first.

No birth-pangs precede the appearance of the Fine Ware; it springs unexpectedly into life with all its attributes perfectly developed. The vases are all small, so neat and precise in shape as to challenge comparison with metal-work; the technical quality of paint and slip is of an equally high order, and the decoration austerely simple. A single master potter perhaps invented the style, and it achieved immediate popularity with worshippers who wished to dedicate a vase at a Lakonian sanctuary. From now on large vases are the exception in a temple deposit, and to judge from the quantity of 'Lakonian I' fragments found, the severely limited style of decoration was considered so successful that for a long time there was no attempt to modify it. However, about the middle of the seventh century animal friezes inspired by Protocorinthian begin to find a place, and at last the experimental spirit of the larger vases infected the Fine Ware also—but that will be described in its proper place under 'Lakonian II.'

A. SHAPES.

Low cup. *A.O.* fig. 44 A, *h*, 44 B, *e*. The form is quite new, and the flattened bowl and insignificant ring foot connect it with the lakaina. The lip is usually straight, sharply off-set, and deep, another point of contrast with the contemporary Protocorinthian cups (Payne *Necrocorinthia*[1] 23, fig. 9 *b*).

Lakaina. *A.O.* figs. 44 A, *c*, *d* (= 44 B, *b*) and 44 B, *a*. The lip is straight, in contrast with the late Geometric type FIG. 2 C, and the bowl has its point of greatest diameter at the top instead of the bottom like PLATE 20 *e*. A very slight ridge surrounds the central pattern under the foot; handles are either rounded or pointed. An outward curve of the lip is rare before the Lakonian II period.

Skyphos. *A.O.* figs. 44 A, *g*, *i*, *k*, 45. Lip straight till the later seventh century, when it takes on a concave curve.

Bowls without a handle. *A.O.* fig. 44 B, *c*, *d*, *f*. Many have a high foot which connects them with the chalice. PLATE 28 *e*, with its concave sides and higher foot, looks late and may belong to the end of Lakonian I.

Goblet. See FIG. 11 *a*. There are numerous fragments without a ring-foot, resting flat on the ground; the lip curves outwards.

Olpe. *B.S.A.* xxviii 61 fig. 6 *a*. A loose and clumsy shape with ribbon handle and no ring-foot. Better would have been the vase of which fragments are shown on PLATE 28 *a*; this perhaps approximated to the form of the Chigi vase (Johansen *op. cit.* pls. 39, 40).

[1] Hereafter abbreviated *NC*.

Kalathos. A few fragments remain from large kalathoi with cut-out sides. *A.O.* fig. 46 *l* may belong to this period.

Chalice. PLATES 24 *m*, 28 *b* (= FIG. 7 B). A high cylindrical body on a tall foot was already suggested in the Transitional phase (p. 110 and FIG. 5 Q). There are remains of two vases like PLATE 28 *b*, but the decoration is desperately perished. One seems to be painted with horses in outline, but of the vase illustrated I can make nothing—except that it had diagonal and vertical as well as horizontal bands of dot and square pattern.

Plate. *A.O.* figs. 54, 44 A, *a*, *b*, *f*; our FIG. 7 C. This often has ribbed bolster-handles at the rim, and may continue into the Lakonian II period. The Transitional shape (FIG. 6) evidently had a very short life and does not occur in Fine Ware.

Bell-krater. *A.O.* fig. 58 *a* is an unusually large vase, a bell krater of the kind *B.S.A.* xxviii 65 fig. 9, but the lip is flanged and not outcurved.[1]

Small bowls shaped like FIG. 5 A are still common and last well into the sixth century.[2] The fragments on PLATE 28 *a* come from a very puzzling vase which I would conjecturally restore as a sauce-boat.

B. PATTERNS.

The lip of almost every vase that has a lip bears the typical ' dot and square ' pattern. This may be derived from metal-work, and is foreshadowed by the dot rows along the lip of Late Geometric and Transitional vases: it continues in use till the end of the archaic period, but is not common after plant-friezes had been introduced to take its place. During Lakonian I the black and white squares are almost equal in size, but in Lakonian II and later the black squares are far more widely spaced. On the body of a vase and lip of a lakaina a broad black zone usually predominates, but very commonly the surface is left white, with narrow bands of black and broader ones of purple, the latter laid directly on the slip. Where an animal frieze is introduced, the black area is reduced to a minimum. ' Running dog,' tongues, and mill-sail[3] patterns occur, but plant ornament is conspicuously lacking; only rarely do we find the rudimentary pomegranate[4] or stalk-rosette.[5] Rays, short and broad, nearly always surround the lower bowl; only one vase shews an uneasy desire to relieve the spaces between them by introducing crosses.[6] The underside of the foot is always slipped, and decorated either with concentric circles or the ' square and circle ' pattern (*A.O.* fig. 44 A, *d*).

[1] The shape is descended from the Protogeometric bell-krater (cf. *B.S.A.* xxix 232–3); it was employed in East Greece during the Orientalising period (see Jacobsthal *Metr. Mus. Studies* V, 1934, 117), but so far no East-Greek examples look early enough to suggest that the Lakonian bell-krater is derived from them.

[2] *E.g.* PLATE 26 *d* (early Lakonian III).

[3] PLATES 25 *a*, 26 *a*.

[4] PLATES 26 *a*, 28 *a*.

[5] PLATE 27 *c*.

[6] PLATE 25 *a*.

This itself, or something like it, occurs on many Protogeometric and Geometric wares, but its use in this position is peculiar to Lakonia.

Lakonian I: Orientalising Ware.

When making the small Fine Ware vases, the potter imposed upon himself severe restrictions in the range of decoration and almost ignored the possibilities of motives based on plant-life. This argues no insensitiveness to the eastern influences which burst on Greece in the seventh century —rather it is a stand against intoxication of the Proto-Attic kind. But if he preserves the purity of his little vases, with the big ones he shews a more adventurous spirit. Rosettes, cables, spirals and palmettes are given a trial, even human figures make a fleeting appearance, but the fashion for dedicating small vases has had the result that only a handful of sherds remain from the sanctuary sites to shew what this experimental stage was like. No doubt large vases with the Transitional check-pattern continue well into the seventh century, and there seems to be the same partiality for clumsy ridges running round the vase, but it is as hard to make out the shapes as it is to trace the development of the patterns. Hence I shall only mention a few individual pieces.

A. SHAPES.

Among the shapes, several fragments belong to oinochoai (Plate 23 *a*, 24 *k*, 25 *d*). Large open bowls account for most of the others; Plate 31 *f* (and *A.O.* fig. 41 c, pl. 28, 5) shew two fragments from the lip of a tall one of cylindrical shape, plastic heads being arranged along the flange of the lip. These particular specimens are in the 'Daedalic' style of 640–30, and many other heads are preserved with all the surrounding vase surface broken away. However, one is at the base of an oinochoe handle triangular in section, another, very badly worn, applied to the front of the neck of a smallish oinochoe or hydria with a straight lip. The latter appears to have been the regular position, and a fine head in the school at Gytheion (Plate 33 *a*, *b*) must from the advanced look of the modelling be dated about the end of the seventh century. I could not find *A.O.* fig. 43, but there are many fragments of lamps bearing plastic heads representing different stages of the 'Daedalic' style; the treatment of these falls outside a study of vase-painting. *A.O.* fig. 42 *e* (drawing upside down, now in the British Museum) is the fragment of a foot whose profile loosely resembles the cushioned krater feet of the sixth century (cf. the Louvre volute-krater, *C.V.A.* I, iii Dc, pl. 6, 1, 2). Many fragments belong to tall stands with cut-out sides—*e.g.* our Plate 25 *f*.[1]

[1] Apparently with a painting of a vase. Compare *A.M.* 1903 Beil. v (Theran), and an unpublished Protocorinthian sherd from Perachora painted with a row of aryballoi.

The extraordinary pyxis *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI has been confidently attributed to Crete by Miss Hartley.[1] The clay is, however, by no means un-Lakonian, burnt to a hard brownish-orange as is usual with unslipped vases; evidence for the pyxis shape is shewn on FIG. 5 E, for the lip on FIG. 2 K, for the ribbed underside in the ribs on Lakonian I plates (FIG. 7 C). Horses occur on the fragment *A.O.* fig. 40 *m*, the oinochoe PLATE 25 *g*, and a chalice mentioned on p. 117 above; a Lakonian head with the same Semitic-looking profile is PLATE 23 *j*. I therefore regard Miss Hartley's arguments as inconclusive until a much closer parallel is found in Crete, and a further point is the absence at Sparta of any other Cretan object which can be dated to this period. Droop is right in assigning the vase to the early seventh-century Lakonian fabric.[2]

B. PATTERNS.

The check-pattern of the Transitional phase gives way to outlined squares with a dot in the centre; this may be used on a large surface or in a row along the lip (*A.O.* figs. 41 C, 42 *b*, *g*; *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *h*, *l*; PLATE 31 *f*). Rays, tongues, and 'running-dog' are naturally common; PLATE 23 *a* shews tongues in an unusual position inside the lip of an oinochoe as well as outside on the neck.

The *rosette* is the most conspicuous of the plant-motives adopted; at first the leaves are pointed (PLATE 25 *g*), later rounded (PLATE 24 *n*, *A.O.* fig. 42 *f*; reserved on a dark ground, *A.O.* fig. 42 *b*, *g*). Dot rosettes occur on *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *n*.

Palmettes are very rudimentary (PLATE 25 *d*, *A.O.* fig. 42 *a*) but PLATE 23 *e* (= *A.O.* fig. 42 *c*) is a lid fragment with very unusual enclosed palmettes and may shew 'Melian' influence.

The *pomegranate* row begins very early.[3] *A.O.* fig. 42 *d*, recurring also on a small hydria, may be the original form; *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *c* is the type in common use throughout the seventh century. In *A.O.* fig. 42 *e* it is more elaborate and the stamens at the top are indicated. Evidently the simple form *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *c* was used when the ornament was small, and further details only shewn when a larger scale permitted—until the sixth century and the advent of more careful miniature drawing. The curious motive *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *e* and our PLATE 26 *c* appears to be a perversion of the cable rather than a variant of the pomegranate.

[1] *B.S.A.* xxxi 61; *B.S.A.* xxxii 254. [2] *B.S.A.* xxviii 58–9.

[3] Kunze (*Kretische Bronzereliefs* 109) doubts this and would ascribe it to Melian influence. But on Melian vases it is rare by comparison, never advancing beyond the simplest form, and no examples are earlier than the earliest Lakonian, where a continuous development of the motive can be followed. Dr. Kunze told me that he has now changed his mind. There are only isolated instances of its use in Protocorinthian—*e.g.* Johansen *op. cit.* pl. XXI, 1.

Fig. 10 *b* shews a bird beside a 'sacred tree,' the only Lakonian example of this motive.

Lakonian I: Figure Style of the Seventh Century.

Animals. Before the mid-century our evidence is very scanty. Plate 25 *g* [1] is a large oinochoe with a frieze of winged horses; the bodies are extremely slender, as in the Geometric period, but the heads and wings are in outline technique. Their successors appear on the pyxis *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI but, as on the Prinias frieze, the figures are still attenuated and incoherent; date about the end of the first quarter-century.

Next follows a stage remarkably similar to the Attic 'Burgon' style: lions with diminished hindquarters, enormous shoulders, and long, clumsy

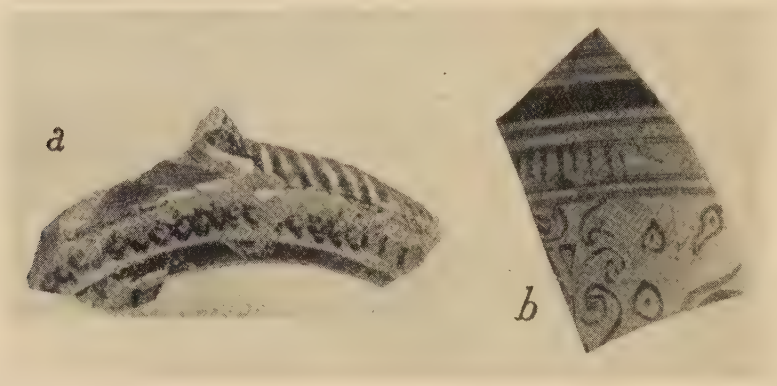

Fig. 10.—Geometric Ring-Vase and Orientalising Pyxis (see also p. 105).

toes in outline.[2] No certain heads are left, but *A.O.* fig. 41 *b* (looking vertically down, not forward as in the drawing) belongs to an animal of the kind. Grazing goats, *A.O.* fig. 41 *b*, have the face reserved and spotted, as with the Burgon lions; on some smaller fragments (Plate 26 *b*, unslipped), where bulls also figure, the face, shoulder, and edge of thigh are reserved and then painted over with a solid white patch. In all these the drawing is uncertain and the animals too ungainly to move, but with the appearance of animal friezes on the Fine Ware both these faults are remedied. Specimens are shewn on Plates 26, 27 *a* to *g*, and *A.O.* fig. 58 *a*. Small, tadpole-like creatures with enormous heads and wriggling

[1] Inset top right, on a slightly larger scale, are two sherds which I found after the first photograph was taken.

[2] For example, *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *q*. No purple on the shoulder, but varnish reddened by bad firing; an unpainted triangle on the right edge not shewn in the drawing makes it certain that one foot was raised.

tails, they are like the vivacious caricatures on Attic vases of the Phaleron group.[1] Incision is never used; heads and sometimes toes are in outline, with red patches for the neck; inner markings are shewn by reserved lines (PLATE 27 *g*). Protocorinthian influence is suggested by the frequency of running hounds and the hare hunt (PLATE 26 *f*), but for technical reasons the drawing rarely reaches the same standard. PLATE 27 *i*, *j* are the two latest and best executed animals; *B.S.A.* xxviii 66 fig. 10 has two friezes, one in the reserved, one in the incised technique, and for that reason rather than for the style of drawing I regard it as a transitional piece to Lakonian II, about the end of the third quarter-century.[2]

Human figures. These are very rare and I can quote only isolated examples. *B.S.A.* xxviii 56 fig. 3 *b* is post-Geometric, as the fuller proportions shew; the head would have been in outline. *B.S.A.* xxviii 57 fig. 4 (= our PLATE 23 *j*) belongs by virtue of the check-pattern to the Transitional stage. The object to the left is not a wing, but the border painted round the junction of a handle; the head is either a protome or had a dwarfish body like *J.d.I.* 1887, 46 nos. 6, 7. A Semitic-looking nose like that on both the Lakonian and the Attic vases is quite different from the pointed features of late Geometric and may well be copied from imported eastern objects like the bronze 'kesselattaschen'; for the pointed cap, common on late Geometric bronzes, see Kunze *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 180 note 11. Considerably later are the charioteers on *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI, but the nose and tiny beard remain the same. On *A.O.* fig. 41 *a* the figures are much fuller; the subject may be from another chariot-scene, with a quite inexplicable object in the field. This would be after the mid-century, and the heads on the lakaina *A.O.* fig. 41 *e* (= our PLATE 25 *a*) well in the third quarter. They have a very 'Melian' appearance, and their male counterpart is the bearded head PLATE 23 *g* from an oinochoe shoulder. The second sherd with the tip of a beard does not join, and it looks as if a frieze of protomes ran round the vase; similar protomes are found on the necks of two 'Melian' vases in Mykonos. Yet another male head is on the sherd figured in PLATE 23 *h*.

Fragments of a dish, *A.O.* fig. 47 *f*, have small and careful outline heads, but the cock from the same vase combines outline and incised techniques—it will be mentioned under 'Lakonian II.'

LAKONIAN II.

Throughout the earlier part of the seventh century we have found small vases remarkably conservative in their scheme of decoration, and

[1] *J.d.I.* 1887, 56 figs. 21, 22.

[2] Perhaps the vase was fired extra hard to prepare it for incision, and thus the slip has become buff in colour.

large clumsy ones where a spirit of desultory experiment admits all kinds of curvilinear and plant motives. But a revolution of style came about at some point which cannot be absolutely dated on external evidence, though it may well shew a repercussion from the change which overtook the Corinthian fabric between 630–620. There ceases to be any marked discrepancy between the decoration of large and small vases—so far as we can tell; the shapes shew refinements which would be permissible in metal but appear fantastic when translated into clay, and the restraint which distinguished the decoration of the Lakonian I Fine Ware is abandoned to admit a host of new motives. Curiously enough, the latter are mainly Geometric in character, and not yet does plant ornament play an appreciable part. Most important of all is the birth of a true black-figure style with incised details for the animal frieze. The lower limit of this class seems to fall later than the transition from Early to Middle Corinthian, for examples were found with Middle Corinthian vases in graves at Taranto; but the next phase, where plant ornaments are freely used, has its own affinity with Middle Corinthian in its later stages. Hence I would roughly date 'Lakonian II' between 630–590, with a proviso that 'Lakonian III' vases of the Hephaistos Painter group may overlap.

A. SHAPES (FIGS. 11, 13).

Continued from Lakonian I is the *lakaina*, with a more flaring mouth and a growing ring-foot; the *small goblet*, FIG. 11 A, develops on the same lines till in Lakonian III the strange form *A.O.* fig. 55 is found. I think the *small cup*, FIG. 11 B, is confined to Lakonian II—no fragment survives with the handle attached. The *olpe*, FIG. 11 C (*B.S.A.* xxviii 61 fig. 6 *d*), is noticeably more metallic in shape than that of Lakonian I.

The *two-handled cup*, *A.O.* fig. 44 A, undergoes considerable modification in this period, no doubt owing to the same East-Greek influence which acted on the Corinthian and Attic cups of the early sixth century.[1] The bowl is much fuller, the ring-foot very pronounced, and the lip less deep in proportion; often the lip is convex, as in PLATE 31 *e*, but in the Rhodes cup *Cl. Rh.* vi pl. ii it is straight in profile with a thick, square-cut edge. The last-named vase is tall and tapers sharply towards the foot without the sagging curve of the Taranto cup;[2] the shape looks later, but both were found in Middle Corinthian graves.

FIG. 11 E (= PLATE 29) is a *standed bowl with a high foot*. The style is very early black-figure, but another fragment of identical shape from the

[1] Corinthian, *NC.* 310; Attic, *ib.* 194 ff. and Greifenhagen *Eine Attische Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*.

[2] Compare the 'Vroulian' and 'une marque' cups, Kinch *Vroulia* pls. IX, X. PLATE 31 *c* shews fragments of two cups with convex lip and unusual decoration; apparently Lakonian, they came from Naukratis and are in the British Museum. PLATE 32 *b*, at Sparta, is another cup of this type.

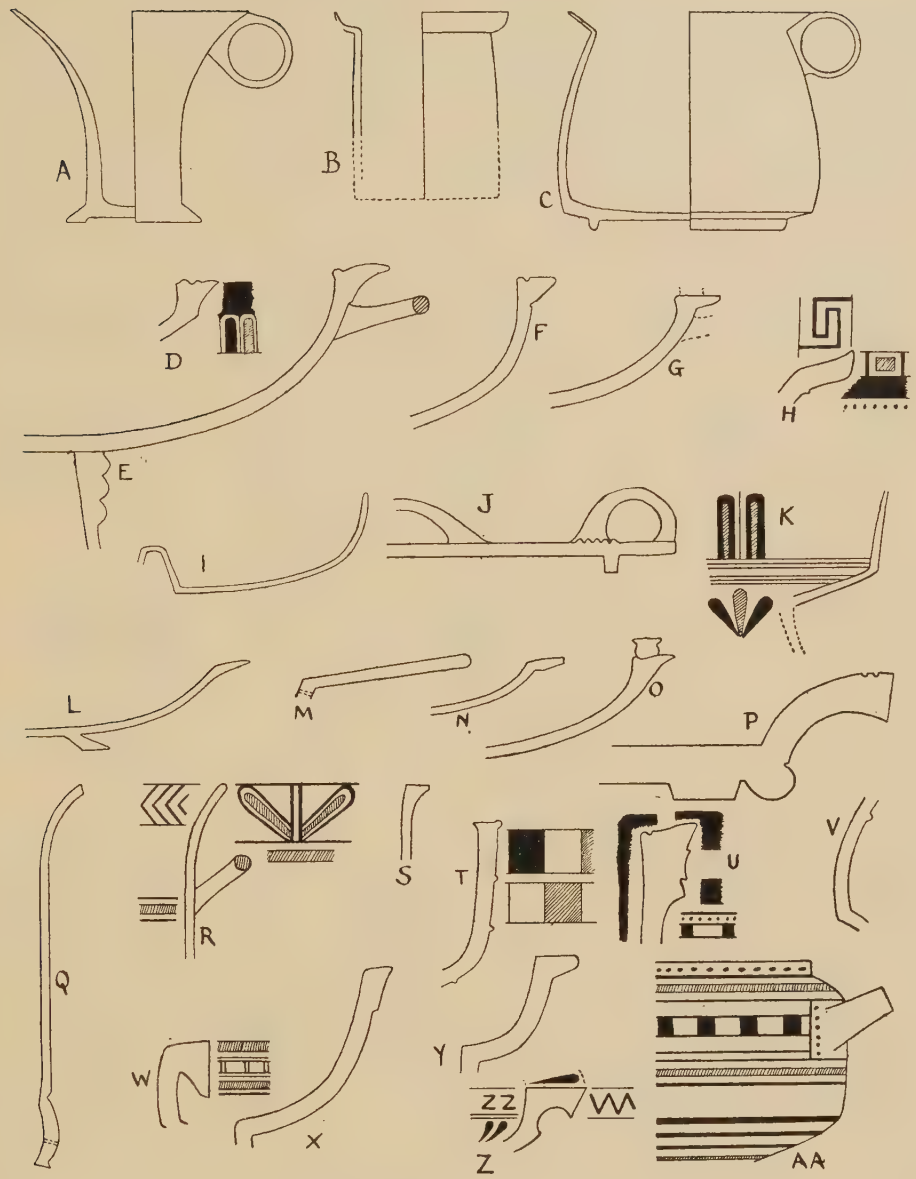

FIG. 11.—LAKONIAN II (—LAKONIAN III) SHAPES.

Argive Heraeum (*Arg. Her.* ii pl. LX 16) has on the outside running hounds in a developed style which may be contemporary with the Lakonian III Hephaistos Painter vases. The shape certainly continues in the Lakonian III period, and I think that many of the fragmentary feet with decorative

bands of ornament belong to chalices or vases of this shape rather than to kylikes.[1] There were probably knobs attached to the upper surface of the lip. Other fragments of flattish bowls are FIG. 11 E, F and H; G is the gorgon fragment of PLATE 32 *a* and *A.O.* fig. 49. This could not be a lid, as it had

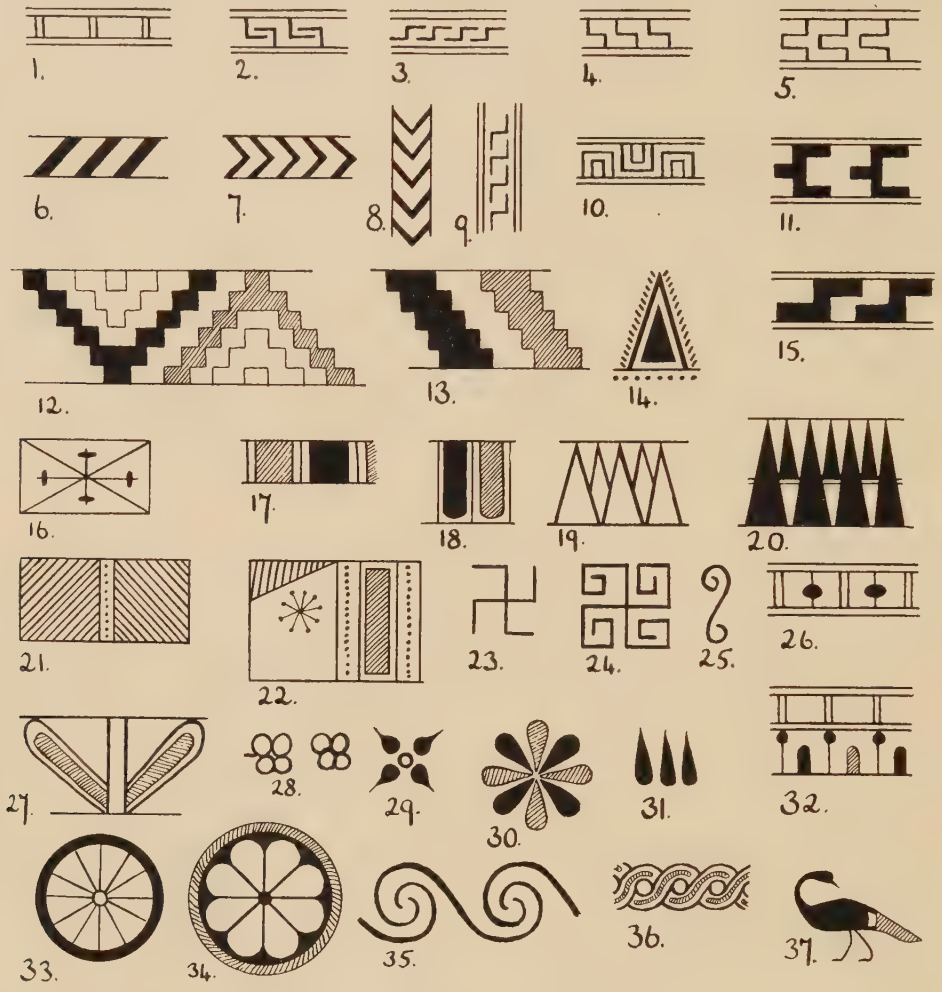

FIG. 12.—LAKONIAN II PATTERNS.

attachments on the flat surface of the lip, but it is curious to find the external friezes upside down.

The *phiale mesomphalos*, FIG. 11 I (= *A.O.* fig. 51), is very rare.

A *lid* is shewn in FIG. 11 J (= *A.O.* fig. 58 *g*); fragments of others are *A.O.* fig. 46 *p* and our PLATE 33 *c*, *d* (head from an edge).

[1] See p. 145 below.

The *chalice* FIG. 11 K [1] (= PLATE 28 *c*), is already common in Lakonian I, though throughout its history there are two distinct types with either a low, splayed-out bowl or a high cylindrical one.

Plates shew a tendency to drop the simple grooved edge of Lakonian I, and new varieties are FIG. 11, L, M, N, O,[2] (P belongs to the next period), of which O is perhaps the most typical. Round knobs on the upper rim and attachments at the side like *A.O.* fig. 47 *p*, *s* are usually present.

Ornamental poloi, *A.O.* fig. 53 and our FIG. 11 Q, reflect a fashion in dedications which is paralleled by the Boeotian specimens discussed by Ure in *A.A.* 1933, 7 and Langlotz in the Würzburg Catalogue under number 67. One other, without slip or paint, is surrounded by moulded ridges.

The *Bell-krater*,[3] *B.S.A.* xxviii 65 fig. 9, is fairly common, but it is rare to find a lip like FIG. 11 R in place of FIG. 11 S; the latter is also known in Lakonian III.

FIG. 13.—LAKONIAN II FEEDER.

FIG. 11 T [4] and U (in Samos) are *open bowls* with the characteristic stamp of metal-work; V (= *A.O.* fig. 47 *i*) is an *oinochoe-neck* with Lakonian II birds. W, from the Menelaion, belongs to a small *krater* without handles, for which precedents are described on p. 110.

The fragments X,[5] Y, Z, come from a kind of hybrid between the oinochoe and the flat-bottomed aryballos. These vases have a narrow neck and a bell-mouth; at the front is a spout like that of a teapot. *A.O.* fig. 70 *c* is only a miniature, but it gives an idea of the shape, and on PLATE 32 *c* is an early Lakonian III example which has lost its neck and spout. There is a splendid vase of similar date in Samos,[6] about 20 cm. high, and comparatively well preserved; not until this is published will it be possible to discuss the shape in detail.

FIG. 13 is another vase with a spout, a '*feeder*' for infants or invalids.

[1] Interior decoration shewn in the drawing, a rosette with alternate purple and black leaves in the centre. For Transitional and Lakonian I examples, see pp. 110–11, 119.

[2] L = *A.O.* fig. 46 *y*. Of M only the rim fragments, *A.O.* fig. 47 ff, survive.

[3] For earlier bell-kraters, see p. 117.

[4] One fragment of T is shewn on *A.O.* fig. 47 *m*.

[5] X = *A.O.* fig. 46 *x*.

[6] See p. 136 below.

FIG. 11 AA, a *pyxis* with a flat ribbon-handle, is a shape sometimes decorated with plastic medallions (cf. PLATE 31 *a*, *b*; *B.S.A.* xxix 67 fig. 11 *b*). A miniature bell-krater from Rhodes, Brit. Mus. no. A 595, bears medallions stamped with 'Daedalic' heads, probably from the moulds used for Rhodian jewellery, and it is possible that at Sparta bone or ivory seals were used in the same way.[1] The gorgoneia are discussed on p. 171; the winged figure was male (cf. *A.O.* pls. VII, XCIX) and the wings springing from the chest, short torso, and enormous thighs are sure grounds for putting it in the late seventh century. Note the tiny animals, mouse and tortoise, loose in the field; they provide a parallel to the signs found on so many archaic coins.

A.O. fig. 57, a heavy *dinos-stand*, was rightly placed in the Lakonian II class by reason of its decoration, and the rounded ridges are comparable with those on the stem of FIG. 11 E and on the unpainted polos mentioned above. *A.O.* fig. 72 *hh* is a fragment of a similar object.[2] The enormous bowls on *A.O.* fig. 56 are probably later, as one piece of this kind has an incised palmette on the rim.[3]

PLATE 34 *a* shews a vase which was introduced to me as a '*pseudo-kantharos*'; it was found at Taranto [4] with five Middle Corinthian kotylai, two cups, an amphoriskos, a ring-vase, and a pyxis as *NC.* 307 no. 895. The decoration is typical of Lakonian II, the foot hollow up to the first overhanging ridge. This is the nearest we can get to a kantharos of the type so common on Lakonian sepulchral reliefs, and perhaps that shape was exclusively made in metal. For the curious treatment of the lower part, compare *A.O.* fig. 55 and an unpublished sherd in Samos. The date must fall early in the sixth century.

PATTERNS.

The rays, 'dot and square' lip pattern, and 'square and circle' of Lakonian I are still common, but the last-named disappears from beneath cups and lakainai as the ring-foot becomes more pronounced. The very numerous new patterns are collected on FIG. 12, where their aggressively Geometric character is obvious, a few varieties of rosette and pomegranate being the only ones that suggest a naturalistic origin. Filling ornament in the animal frieze (FIG. 12, 23–25) is insignificant, and the resulting effect of Lakonian II is an arid stiffness, accentuated by the angular drawing of the animals and the metallic shapes of the vases themselves. Characteristic of the narrower bands of ornament are the pairs of fillets which bound them at top and bottom, often with vertical pairs joining them at intervals

[1] Mr. Payne informs me that there was found at Perachora a small clay impression which gave every appearance of having been stamped by a seal of this kind.

[2] Not Lakonian IV, as there suggested.

[3] See also p. 156.

[4] In Tomb V *bis*, Contrada Vaccarella, 1922.

(Fig. 12, 1–5, 10–11, 15, 26, 32). The spacing of the black squares on the lip is usually much wider than in the Lakonian I period.

It is possible that the rosette reserved on a black ground (Fig. 12, 34, and Plate 30) is borrowed from Corinthian, for it occurs in the centre of some Middle Corinthian cups.[1] The birds (37) are disposed in monotonous friezes and have no more intrinsic interest than mere filling ornament; there is always a reserved patch above the tail, which is painted in purple laid directly over the slip. Apparently no fragments with these birds on them are found above the sand layer, and they were no doubt discarded as soon as plant ornament became available. There are birds in white paint on the shoulders of the krater, *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 2, 5, but that is the only case where they appear on a vase not of the Lakonian II series.

The Animal Frieze.

A perfect example of the transition from outline brush-drawing to incised black-figure is provided by two sherds from the Amyklaion, Plate 27, *k*, *l*, where both methods are combined, and the painstaking stiffness of the incision, surrounding the outer contours, is proof in itself that this is one of the earliest experiments in an unfamiliar technique. A lakaina lip, *B.S.A.* xxviii 66 fig. 10, has two friezes, the lower brush-drawn, the upper incised with an uncertainty of touch which is paralleled on three fragments from an oinochoe found on the Akropolis (Plate 28 *d*); the head may belong to the first sphinx known on a Lakonian vase. The monstrous lion (?) on a piece from a flat lid, *A.O.* fig. 46 *p*, would be about the same date. Considerably later, near the end of the century, is the standed dish Plate 29 (Fig. 11 e); these panther-birds were suggested by Corinthian ones, but the long, shaggy neck, spotted body and drooping tail are the achievements of local talent. Interest has been concentrated on the fine central gorgoneion, where the engraving technique was only risked in a wavy line above the forehead curls.

Comparative confidence had been gained by the time that *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* was painted. There are several other fragments of this vase from the Menelaion; it was evidently a very large lakaina with straight lip. A superb Early Corinthian pyxis-lid, decorated with bulls and rams, was found on the same site, and it may not be too much to suppose some connection between the two vases. However, local idiosyncrasies are strong; the animals of *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* are rectangular in outline and the articulation of the Corinthian models, logical and supple however stylised, has been misunderstood and lost. The painter has lacerated the hind-quarters with redundant incision of no structural value as a result of his

[1] Two in the National Museum at Athens. A reserved rosette occurs on the underside of Middle Corinthian aryballoi. Cf. *C.V.A.* Louvre viii, III Ca, pl. 18, 30.

newly-won dexterity with the graver, but an advance on the Amyklaion sherds is shewn by the abandonment of the incised contour lines.

More restraint appears in the admirable fish cups from Taranto (PLATE 30), where incision is reduced to a minimum; hints of the outline technique remain in the reserved eyes of the dolphins, reserved triangles on their bellies, and the decorative birds of the exterior. Similarly with the beards and eyes of the snakes, and the fish on the gorgon dish, PLATE 32 *a* [1] (*A.O.* fig. 49). No purple is visible on the interior of this piece, but it is only a step to the closely related snakes on kylikes by the Hephaistos Painter, where the patch at the back of the head and a row of dots down the body are laid on in that colour.

LAKONIAN III.

With the sixth century we come to the vases which Droop has put into his third and fourth classes, and this is perhaps the best point to examine the system by which, for the last twenty years, these vases have been classified. The excavations at the Orthia sanctuary produced a comparatively small number of archaic fragments distinguished by the total absence of slip and a decadent style; there was no sealed deposit, like that created by the sand layer, to draw a sharp line between the slipped and unslipped ware, but their position in the strata shewed that the latter came after the former. With unslipped fragments definitely late, and entirely slipped fragments as definitely early, it was logical to assume that vases which were only partially slipped belonged to a phase transitional between the two; and if logic were assisted by mathematics, it would be possible to find the relative position of a vase in the series by calculating the proportionate area of its surface not covered by slip. This method has its advantages for those who believe that archaic Lakonian art is like a stagnant lake, which for about 150 years shews no ripple on its surface; Droop, for example, finds that ' the painter's style is almost valueless as a criterion of date, for in Lakonia the art of the vase-painter never got beyond the archaic stage, so that the careless work of the earlier periods may well be confused with the careful drawing of a later date.' [2] But for the practical archaeologist who has to deal with fragments this criterion is frequently useless, since a calculation of the unslipped area of the missing parts of a vase involves at least algebra, if not divination—and why should it be necessary if the fragment in question is covered with carefully executed figure decoration?

The alternative method for dating vases, where external evidence

[1] In the centre apparently a gorgoneion, the point of whose beard is shewn upside down on the central sherd. The large animals indicated by *A.O.* fig. 49 are too badly worn on the other two sherds to make reproduction worth while.

[2] *J.H.S.* 1910, 21.

is lacking, is by means of style.[1] For instance, if a particular shape is represented by only one or two Lakonian examples, they may be placed by comparing them with vases of similar shape belonging to another fabric where the stages of development are more fully preserved. But more important for our present study is the figure decoration, which, even on a fragment, usually has a distinct stylistic character of its own. It happens with the Lakonian fabric, as with many others, that the exported vases are finer than those found on home ground—and naturally so, since the expenses of transport and the competition of foreign wares left no justification for second-rate work. Hence the exported vases are the most stylish in execution, that is, they shew the changes of fashion and the individualities of the painter more distinctly than most of the fragments found in Lakonia itself. I believe that many pieces can be attributed to the same painter, with the natural inference that they were produced during the limited space of time that he was at work. In cases where shapes and secondary decoration correspond, while the figure compositions are by different hands, it is reasonable to suppose that the two painters were working contemporaneously. The multiplication of patterns on the exterior of a kylix, for example, was sheer hack-work calling for little ability; this might be entrusted to apprentices, the master himself only taking a hand when an unusual effect or special magnificence was desired. This explains why such divergent forms of the handle-palmette appear on the Arkesilas kylix and the Vatican Prometheus, where the figure-drawing is by the same artist, and also accounts for the external resemblance and interior discrepancy between the Brussels banquet-cup and the kylix *A.O.* pls. IX, X.

The criterion I have used for drawing a line between the second and third Lakonian styles is the nature of the subsidiary ornament. In Lakonian II this is primarily abstract, preferring Geometric forms to those based on plant-life. In Lakonian III the pomegranate and lotus-bud frieze, linked or unlinked, the handle-palmette, and a limited kind of floral complex are almost invariably present. In the chief decoration, interest concentrates upon the human figure, which was noticeably absent in Lakonian II and evidently demanded the larger field provided by the kylix roundel before it could play a leading part. The chronological limits are impossible to fix on external evidence, but on grounds of style the upper one should fall within the Middle Corinthian period, about 590–80, and the lower one, which I adopt for convenience rather than from a belief in its positive value,[2] at about the middle of the sixth century.

[1] On this subject, see a review of *Artemis Orthia* which appeared in *J.H.S.* 1930, 146–150. The distinction there drawn between *Formgefühl* and *technique* is much to the point.

[2] For example, the Hunt Painter in his early work is strongly influenced by the Arkesilas Painter, and so was active in the second quarter of the century; another kylix, of ' Droop cup ' shape, is unmistakably by his hand and I have classed it with Lakonian IV, after 550 (p. 142).

Within these forty years the Hephaistos Painter group shews a remarkable homogeneity and may be placed early; other vases still appear under Middle Corinthian influence, while the work of the Arkesilas and Hunt Painters belongs to the same cycle as that of the Late Corinthian red-ground vases. Some pieces cannot be so definitely classified and when necessary they will be individually discussed.

GROUP A: THE HEPHAISTOS PAINTER.

There is a significant break in the continuity of the finds at the Orthia sanctuary—'very little of the ware of the second period was found.'[1] This is not to be explained by a decline in offerings, but rather by the damage following the flood which swept away almost all the evidence we need to bridge the transition from the second to the third style. Luckily, two important pieces remained stranded, the goblet *A.O.* fig. 55 and the lakaina *A.O.* pls. VII, VIII. Of the latter, Droop remarks that 'it occupies a place of its own in the Lakonian series.' Such opulent plant-decoration has no more to do with the angularities of Lakonian II than has the developed treatment of the human figures in the frieze, but it is not true to say that the vase is completely isolated. For by now the export of Lakonian vases to foreign markets had begun on a considerable scale, and from Rhodes, Naukratis, Samos and Italy its contemporaries have come to light.

These are nearly all kylikes, a shape which always remained the favourite with foreign buyers, and most have so much in common that they might be ascribed to a single painter. There follows a list of the more important examples.

1. Fragment, in Samos. Bare legs of woman. Palmette as Fig. 24, 1 (Plate 36 *b*, *d*).
2. New York, from Greece? Floral complex. Palmette, Fig. 24, 1. *J.H.S.* 1910, 13–14, figs. 5–6.
3. Fragment, from Selinus. Palmette, Fig. 24, 1. *Mon. Ant.* xxxii 310 fig. 128.
4. Louvre E 663, from Italy. Hare-hunt. Palmette as Fig. 24, 2. Plate 35, *a*.
5. Rhodes. Hephaistos and Dionysos. Palmette, Fig. 24, 2. *C.V.A. Rhodes* i, III D, pl. 1.
6. Rome, in Dr. L. Curtius' collection. Introduction of Herakles? Palmette, Fig. 24, 3, unincised. To be published shortly in *R.M.*
7. Brit. Mus. B. 6, from Naukratis. Uncertain subject. Palmette, Fig. 24, 4, incised. Plate 36 *c*.
8. Brit. Mus. B. 7, from Naukratis. Dogs coursing a fox. Palmette, Fig. 24, 4. Plate 35 *b*.

[1] *A.O.* 72.

9. Brit. Mus. B. 7, from Naukratis. Fragment from centre of similar kylix. PLATE 35 *f*.
10. Brit. Mus. B. 5, from Naukratis. Gorgoneion. Palmette, FIG. 24, 4. PLATE 37 *a* and FIG. 14 A.
11. Olympia. Fragment with Gorgoneion. *Olympia* iv 202 no. 1302.
12. Brit. Mus. B. 7, fragments from Naukratis. Kneeling warrior, part of horse. Palmette, FIG. 24, 4. PLATE 36 *g*.
13. Samos, fragments from similar cup. Youth leading horse. PLATE 36 *f*.
14. Oxford, from Naukratis. Fragment, Herakles and Hydra. PLATE 34 *c*.[1]
15. Leipzig, fragments from Caere. Herakles and Hydra. Palmette as FIG. 24, 4. PLATE 34 *b*.
16. Samos, fragment with head of woman. Apparently not the same cup as no. 1. PLATE 36 *a*.

Related, but probably later:—

17. Munich, fragments. Komasts in a radial frieze round medallion containing an animal. Unpublished.
18. Samos, fragment. Figures in medallion, surrounded by animal frieze. Palmette as FIG. 24, 6.
19. Delphi. Fragment, kylix stem. *Fouilles de Delphes* v 145–6 fig. 601.

There is no definite evidence for the appearance of the high-footed kylix before the sixth century; *A.O.* fig. 52 *e* was found in an unstratified trial-pit and the myrtle-wreath round the lip forbids its inclusion under Lakonian II. Except for no. 19, the stems of all these cups are black, which leads me to suppose that the numerous fragmentary feet, with decorative bands on a white ground (*e.g.* FIG. 15), belong to fruit-dishes like FIG. 11 E or to chalices.[2] The usual shape of lip and bowl is shown on FIG. 14 A, but nos. 4 and 5 have thinner walls and a sharp-edged foot.[3]

In external decoration there is surprising uniformity except for the handle-palmette. Typical specimens published are nos. 5, and 10 (FIG. 14 A). No. 3 shews an unusual elaboration which foreshadows that of the Arkesilas kylix, while no. 2 has the whole lower bowl painted black, with a reserved band half-way down. This exceptional treatment is quite obviously borrowed from the East-Greek cups, and a similar feeling appears in the concentric fillets inside nos. 4 and 7;[4] that the East-Greek influence came through contact with Samos is suggested by the quantity of Lakonian fragments of this period found in the island.[5] There are four types of

[1] I have to thank Mr. R. M. Cook for the photograph.

[2] These would in any case supply a local precedent for the high foot, but perhaps Ionian potters had already adopted the high foot and influenced the Lakonians to do the same.

[3] No. 2 is exceptional in having a concave lip instead of the usual slightly convex one.

[4] For a case where the compliment was returned, and Samian potters imitated a Lakonian cup, see p. 185 and PLATE 36 *e*.

[5] See p. 178.

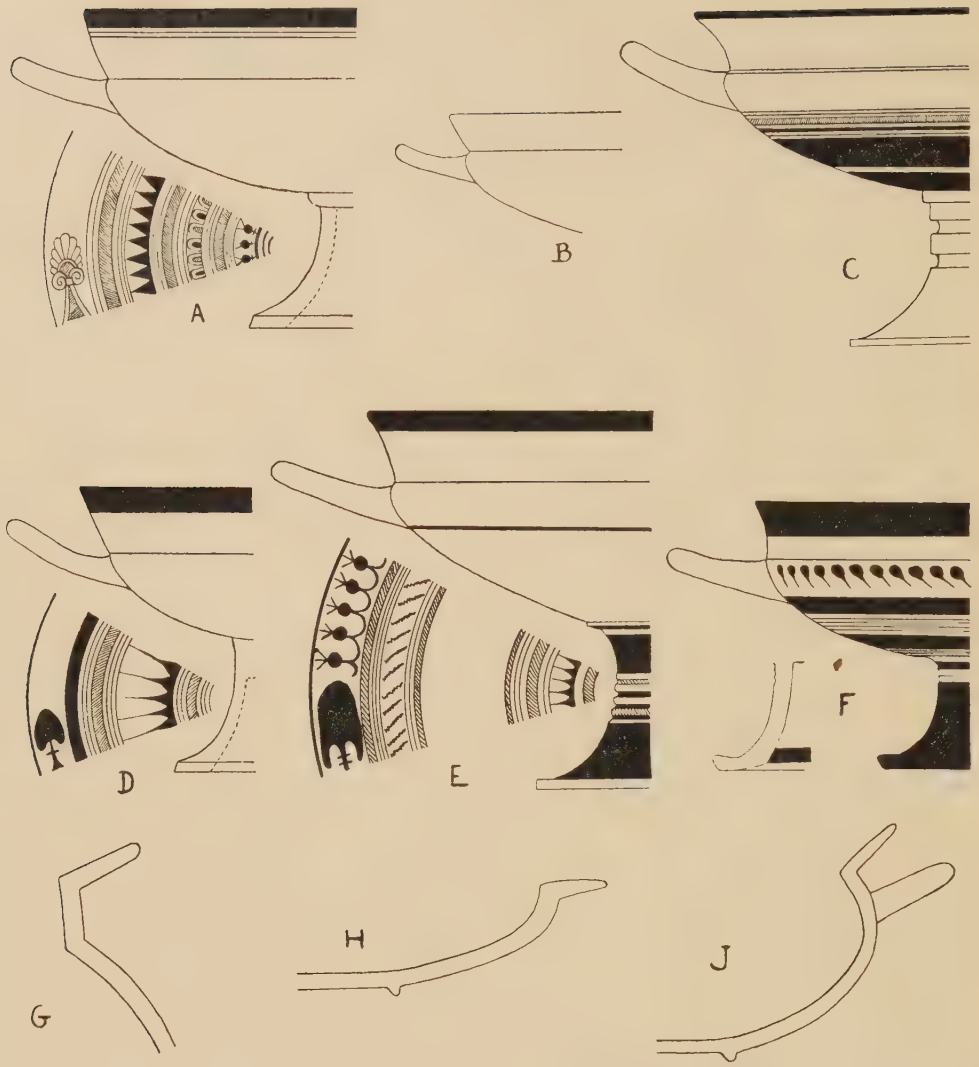

Fig. 14.—Lakonian III and IV Kylix Shapes (A–F), Lakonian III Plate (H), and Lakonian IV Bowls (G, J).

handle-palmette [1] (Fig. 24, 1–4), the first three unincised and all shewing successive stages of development over a short period of time. Connection with metal prototypes is obvious in the triangular member springing from

[1] Lakonian handle-palmettes always have a straight horizontal stem (except the freak *C.V.A. Cambridge* i, iii D, pl. 4, 25). The Attic *kleinmeister* type with curved stem appears in its earliest form on a seventh-century kotyle recently found at the Kerameikos, but even there is not suggestive of metallic influence.

the handle; this recurs on the Arkesilas kylix but disappears from the less carefully executed vases of the second quarter-century. A distinctive trait of the group, rarely missing, is the fringe of pomegranates which surrounds the picture. It was copied by the 'Naukratite' potters and occurs on only one later Lakonian kylix—that in Würzburg.[1] It is extremely important to notice that in this, the earliest stage of Lakonian III, the practice of leaving parts of the vase unslipped has already begun. The square-cut edge of the foot and the torus where the stem joins the bowl are usually so treated, and inside the lip there are always reserved bands near the top and bottom edges—sometimes another between them.[2] This is clearly no sign of decadence, for it would be simpler to paint the whole lip black; rather it is a deliberately sought effect which was more extensively cultivated in the second quarter of the century. At first it seems to have been confined to the kylix. The technique of all the 'Hephaistos Group' vases is of the very highest order; slip thick, dull matt, and ivory in colour; varnish thin, inclining to sepia; purple thick, sometimes inclining to orange, but usually of a deep violet tone.

The advent of figure scenes apparently coincides with that of the kylix, and from now on the larger field and greater concentration of the kylix interior are preferred for human figures, while animals are still the rule in the narrow friezes surrounding the exterior. The problem was, how to fit the figures into a round space. The earliest treatment, which persisted from first to last in Corinthian, was that of a continuous frieze surrounding a central medallion (cf. the Taranto bowls, PLATE 30, and the fruit-dish, PLATE 29). This arrangement the Hephaistos Painter used in the two cups with running dogs (nos. 4, 8, above),[3] and it occurs on the later pieces 17, 18. But the figures are not big enough, and so other arrangements must be tried. One alternative was to fill the whole circle with a figure or figures accommodated to fit the space, but it needed Attic skill to do this well and Lakonian artists seldom tried it. The other was to provide a flat ground for the figures to stand on by drawing a chord across the circle—hence the diametrical division of the Rhodes Hephaistos cup, where both groups feet to feet have equal importance. If both groups were put the same way up, the same problem of providing a base-line led to the introduction of a second chord—as on the British Museum fragments, PLATE 36 *g*, and the companion piece in Samos; this frieze-like division is found on other fragments in Samos, PLATE 39 *e*, with a band

[1] Langlotz *Katalog* no. 166 pl. 28.

[2] As on no. 8, PLATE 35 *b*.

[3] The centre, lost in the two cups named, is suggested by another fragment from Naukratis shewing an incised 'catherine wheel' (PLATE 35 *f*). This does not fit the cup no. 7 but comes from a similar one. An unincised but otherwise similar pattern is often found in Corinthian cups of the period; the narrow concentric fillets are clearly copied from Ionian cups like Munich no. 529, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 10, *A.M.* 1929, 34 ff.

of little dancers running across the bottom of the cup, and the treatment even survived as late as the Taranto cup, PLATE 47. But the logical way was to treat the lower lunette as an exergue to be filled with secondary ornament—for example, take the Curtius and British Museum cups, nos. 6 and 7, where the running animals can only be regarded as filling. Subsequently the exergual space shrank to a minimum and contained a floral complex with or without heraldic flanking animals. In view of these experimental pieces, there is no reason to suppose that the exergue was introduced under foreign influence such as that of the East-Greek 'Euphorbos' plates.

It is disastrous that so little of this, the most attractive phase of Lakonian vase-painting, is preserved complete. What we have, shews a freshness and simplicity which look almost rustic beside the sophisticated work done by Corinthian potters at the same date—compare the Athena[1] of Dr. Curtius' kylix with the hard-boiled courtesans of Middle Corinthian, or the impish Return of Hephaistos on the Rhodes cup with the weary rout of its Corinthian counterpart (*NC.* 119, fig. 44 G). The figures themselves are slender, as on Middle Corinthian, but lack the tightly-knit physique; their movement is vague where that of the Corinthians is elastic and precise. In technique, incision is sparingly used, very bold and careful, with no sharp corners. Note especially the double lines for the shoulders of animals (on nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 13), and the S-shaped incisions on flanks and hindquarters; snakes have round noses, purple caps, and purple dots down their backs, and purple dots are scattered over the boar on no. 6. Outline technique for female flesh is an obvious debt to Corinthian, and persists in Lakonian when the scale of the vase or the patience of the artist allows.

OTHER SHAPES, PERIOD OF THE HEPHAISTOS PAINTER KYLIKES.

The fine *lakaina*, *A.O.* pls. VII, VIII, has already been well described,[2] but I should like to add a word on the important question of its position in the Lakonian series, because this vase, more than anything else, can supply the needed clue for the date of the flood and rebuilding of the Orthia temple. Droop places it at the end of 'Lakonian II,' about 600. But in style it shews the infancy of the Lakonian III fashion rather than the maturity of Lakonian II, so we must date the change, which manifested itself in the appearance of plant motives, somewhat earlier than the destruction of the old temple. The lakaina is connected with the kylikes 4

[1] The dress worn by Athena, and her polos, are very close to some of the lead figurines on *A.O.* pl. CXC. Apparently the polos was abandoned in Lakonia early in the sixth century; it is worn on the plastic heads *A.O.* pls. VII, VIII, but later ones are without it.

[2] *A.O.* 76.

and 5 above [1] by the handle palmette, and the slender figures are like those on cups by the Hephaistos Painter. Compare the warriors with *NC.* pl. 32, 1–3, and pl. 33, 11 (Middle Corinthian of the 'Gorgoneion' and 'Samos' groups). Then the plastic heads at the base of the handles (PLATE 33 *e*) have a depth and fullness which would be impossible in the seventh century; their predecessors are PLATE 33 *a—d*, their contemporaries the Middle Corinthian heads *NC.* pl. 48, 2, 3. A four-winged figure like *A.O.* pl. VII would be a rarity on a seventh-century vase of any fabric. Hence I date the vase well in the Middle Corinthian period, about 590–85, and as Middle Corinthian affinities still appear on vases found above the sand layer, we can suppose that the rebuilding occupied a very few years, during which the primitive character of the plant ornament on this lakaina developed into that more typical of Lakonian III.

Other lakainai of the same period, found above and below the sand, are like *A.O.* fig. 70 *b*, where the dot and square lip-pattern is interchangeable with the myrtle-wreath; one example (dot and square lip) was found in grave 182 at Taranto with a Middle Corinthian kotyle like *NC.* 308, no. 928 ff. and a flat-bottomed aryballos like *NC.* 304, fig. 140.[2]

The *goblet A.O.* fig. 55 has a curious ridge near the foot which connects it with the 'pseudo-kantharos' PLATE 34 *a*. The latter was found at Taranto in a Middle Corinthian grave,[3] but the goblet looks later, and as it came from below the sand, we have more evidence for postponing the date of the flood till about 590–85.

Another strange shape is *Mon. Ant.* xxxii. 310 pl. XC 1, where the bird-frieze is plump and early. The *krateriskos* in Philadelphia [4] I have not seen, but I hesitate to accept the view that it is a Lydian imitation of a Lakonian vase. Whatever its origin, it dates early in Lakonian III, about 590–80.

The flat-bottomed *aryballos*, Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. iv 4 is a more

[1] P. 130.

[2] Other exported examples from Carthage (*R.A.* 1928, 55), Caere (Leipzig, unpubl.), Corneto (unpubl.), Italy (*J.H.S.* 1910, 7 and *J.d.I.* 1923–4, 28).

[3] In Grave V *bis*, Contrada Vaccarella, August 1922. Cf. p. 181.

[4] *Museum Journal* xxiii 61. The clay on analysis proved to be similar to that of an authenticated Lydian vase, but unfortunately no comparative analysis of a Lakonian piece was made. The only Lakonian vase from Lydia is the kylix mentioned on p. 151, and it dates about 40 years later. No 'krateriskoi' of this shape were found at Sparta; they occur, however, in Samos (Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. viii 5, 6, 10, 12), and this raises a possibility that the Philadelphia vase was made in that island, where we know that Lakonian kylikes of the Hephaistos group were imitated (p. 185). But nothing in the decoration looks unfamiliar, and I prefer to call the vase Lakonian. The shape of the foot is paralleled on the Hephaistos Painter kylikes, and the omission of slip on a broad band round the body is an interesting early example of this practice. See also *A.M.* 59 (1934) 100 n. 1.

elaborately metallic counterpart of the Corinthian *NC.* fig. 140, and a fragment from above the sand at Orthia has a floral complex like our FIG. 25 B. In many museums are examples completely covered with black varnish, and probably the shape lasted over the whole first half of the century. The Samos aryballos looks early because of the absence of a vegetable frieze, the dot and square lip, and the square and circle under the foot, features which are commonest in the seventh century, though they survived later. A similar aryballos in Corneto is illustrated on FIG. 16. To judge from the style of the animals it is later than most of the Hephaistos group kylikes, about the end of the first quarter-century. Technique excellent, slipped all over, purple on black except for the cocks' crests and lions' tongues, where it is laid directly on the slip.

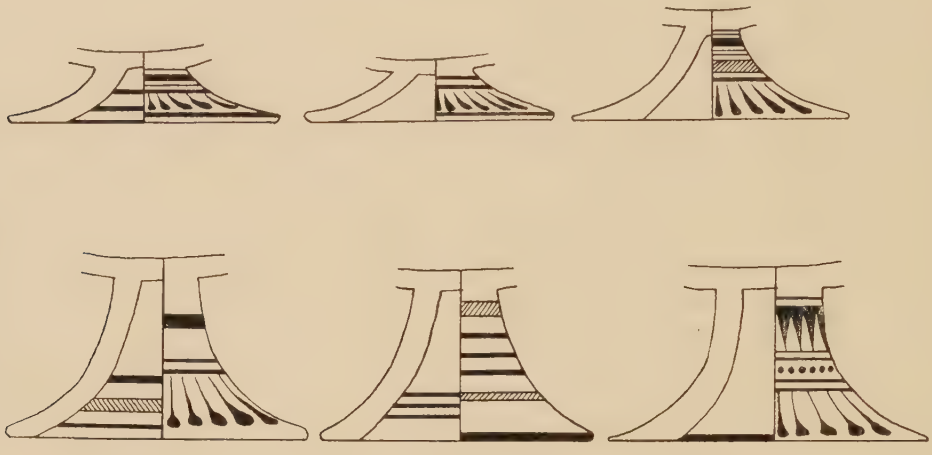

FIG. 15.—FEET, PROBABLY OF FRUIT-DISHES.

In the Samian nekropolis was found an extraordinary vase, already noticed on p. 125, with a spout and three plastic heads to support the lip. In addition to the peculiarity of its shape, this pot has a special interest as being the earliest important Lakonian III vase which has survived. The animal friezes are related to the work of the Hephaistos Painter, and the pomegranates are still of the primitive ' Lakonian II ' form shewn on FIG. 21 1.[1]

A fragment of a closed vase in Oxford (*J.H.S.* 1910, 12 fig. 4, from Naukratis) perhaps belonged to an oinochoe, though it is hard to explain what look like the ends of rays reaching down from the top. The style of drawing definitely relates it to the kylikes of the Hephaistos group.

[1] The vase will be published in due course by Mr. D. Evangelides.

GROUP B.

The vases just described form a fairly homogeneous group, distinguished by careful figure-drawing, excellent technique, and, apart from a few exceptions, a sparing use of plant-motives. The only vase from the Orthia sanctuary which can be regarded as a typical specimen is the lakaina *A.O.* pls. VII–VIII, found below the sand, from which it appears that the Hephaistos group belongs to the few years immediately preceding the destruction of the old temple. The earliest fragments from above the sand are still under Middle Corinthian influence in figure style and exuberantly decorated with plant-motives. The latter gradually become stereotyped, and as the Corinthian fabric passes into its latest phase, so Lakonia too gives up miniaturist drawing and produces robust figures like those of the Corinthian red-ground vases.[1] The development can best be studied in the kylikes, and these I shall treat in more detail than the shapes for which less material is available.

Kylix. A tendency towards very careful miniature drawing is found on a few pieces which cannot be later than Corinthian of the ' Gorgoneion Cup ' and ' Samos ' group.[2] One of these is the kylix from Orthia, found above the sand, and illustrated on PLATES 39 *a*, 40. Cocks and a hen are feeding round a central ' catherine wheel '; among them are an ant and apparently a snail. For the first time a figure-frieze appears on the outside of a kylix, country revels most delicately drawn, with a needle point used for the incision.[3] The Trophonios kylix from Samos (Boehlau, *Nekropolen* pl. x 4), and that with bathing nymphs (*op. cit.* pl. xi) are probably of about the same date. On the latter, the ' dot and square ' and sigma patterns and the animal frieze recall the two aryballoi from Samos and Corneto (*op. cit.* pl. iv 4 and our FIG. 16), and the slender figures are in the same tradition as those by the Hephaistos Painter, but the handle-palmette already shews signs of degeneration and there is a myrtle-wreath round the lip, which was formerly left plain. Fragments from Samos on PLATE 39 *e* have a miniature frieze of dancing women across the lower part of the roundel, an animal frieze on the exterior, and bands of sigma-ornament.[4] The Taranto kylix, PLATE 37 *b*, connected by external evidence with Middle Corinthian,[5] is in shape, technique, and outside decoration exactly like the Rhodes kylix by

[1] See p. 141.

[2] *NC.* 309, 310. Their upper limit should fall earlier than 575, the approximate date for the end of ' Middle Corinthian.'

[3] For the subject, see p. 160. The hairy man may be compared with those on the krater-fragment, PLATE 39 *d*; the figures cannot represent silens, as they have no tails. There are only three cases of silens on Corinthian vases, and there perhaps they were suggested by Attic examples (*NC.* 90).

[4] The handle band of this cup was unslipped.

[5] Found in grave 119 with the Middle Corinthian aryballos *NC.* 304 no. 834.

Fig. 16.—Early Lakonian III Aryballos at Corneto.

the Hephaistos Painter,[1] save that a wavy line takes the place of the tongues, and a lotus-bud that of the handle-palmette.[2] The cup may be contemporary with the Hephaistos Painter but is not by him; the man who painted it also produced the closely similar kylix in the Louvre.[3] The latter is unslipped outside from the edge of the lip to the bottom of the handle-zone, and if we assume, as we can scarcely fail to do, that the two cups are very close in date, this shews that the practice of leaving a large area of the vase unslipped was known as early as the third decade of the sixth century.[4]

Three cups by a single artist, whom I shall call the *Pegasos Painter*, fall slightly later than those just mentioned. They are:—

1. Leipzig, from Caere. Pegasos. *A.A.* 1924, 80 figs. 18, 19.
2. British Museum, B. 2, from Capua. Youth with two winged horses. PLATE 41 *c*.
3. Munich 482. Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13.

Nos. 2 and 3 are identical in outside decoration and shape; they introduce a new type of kylix, very small, with the transition between lip and bowl almost imperceptible. FIG. 14 D is a similar cup by the Hunt Painter,[5] and *A.O.* fig. 69 shews fragments of yet another. In every case the handle-palmette is like FIG. 24, 9, unincised and painted in black varnish. Nos. 1 and 2 have already been connected by Rumpf,[6] who also draws attention to the peculiar form of handle-palmette (FIG. 24, 6). This looks like the first stage in decline from the carefully drawn palmettes of the Hephaistos Painter,[7] but I would hesitate to use it as a criterion of date, since it reappears on a much later cup which must have been made after the middle of the century.[8] The confinement of the picture to a small central medallion, as on the Leipzig kylix, is a labour-saving device introduced in the later Lakonian III period, and constantly recurs when the artist wished to save himself the trouble of multiplying the figures.

Another artist working in the second quarter of the sixth century I shall call the *Naukratis Painter*. He is responsible for the following:—

1. British Museum B. 4, from Naukratis. Artemis attended by daemons. Studniczka *Kyrene* 18; Petrie *Naukratis* i pls. 8, 9.
2. Louvre E 667. Banquet. *C.V.A.* i III Dc, pls. 3, 11 and 5, and our PLATE 42 *b*.
3. Munich 382. Winged Figure. Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13.

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[1] P. 130 no. 5. [2] As FIG. 24, 11.
[3] *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pls. 3, 6 and 4, 4.
[4] Compare also the krateriskos in Philadelphia (p. 135) and the Samian fragments on PLATE 39 *e*.
[5] P. 141. The foot of nos. 2 and 3 above is, however, not nearly so deep at the edge.
[6] *A.A.* 1924, 80. [7] FIG. 24, 4. [8] *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *ee*.

Rich floral decoration, wiry figures with long, pointed beards, and similar animals are seen on nos. 1 and 2. This painter evidently liked wings, and he may have executed some very fine fragments from Marseilles.[1] Note the layer hair common to figures on nos. 2 and 3. The kylix from Orthia, *A.O.* pls. IX, X, is carelessly drawn but may be his work, and here the outside decoration corresponds exactly with that on the banquet-cup by the Arkesilas Painter in Brussels. It is reasonable to suppose that the two artists were working contemporaneously in close contact—perhaps when they had finished the inside pictures they handed over their cups to the same apprentice to decorate the outside. Miss Tankard [2] considers that the Louvre volute-krater, *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pl. 6, 1, 2 is by the painter of the Naukratis cup, and she adds the oinochoe *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI, but her arguments have little weight. Griffon-birds occur frequently on sherds at Sparta, and the use of a standard floral complex is insufficient to distinguish an individual painter. The suggestion that forty years separate the krater and the cups is a fantasy based on the absence of slip over large areas of the latter, for there is no trace of decay in the style. We may assume that the cups, the Louvre volute-krater, and the hydria, Louvre E 660, all belong to the maturity of the style which immediately preceded the middle of the sixth century.

To the same period belongs the work of the *Arkesilas Painter.* The following are by his hand:—

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, from Vulci. Arkesilas. *C.V.A.* i pls. 20, 21, 22 and F.R. iii 211 pl. 151.
2. Vatican. Prometheus and Atlas. Albizzati *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano* ii pl. 17.
3. Naples, fragment from Cumae. Banquet. *Mon. Ant.* xxii pl. 60, 1.
4. Brussels. Banquet. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* fig. 181.

It has long been assumed that the Arkesilas is the second king of that name, and that the kylix should be dated in his reign (*ca.* 565–50). This is borne out by the style, the powerfully built figures bearing the same relation to Late Corinthian as do those of the Hunt Painter. But the Arkesilas Painter is a stage earlier than the latter in his drawing: naïve and lively with their open mouths, the figures gesticulate jerkily, and run with joints that creak. Note in Sliphomachos and his neighbours the stylisation of the knee, two S's back to back, the stiff lines on thigh and forearm with a nervous twitch at the end, the massive biceps. The forehead runs far back, the nose is slightly snub at the end, and the upper lip is almost a part of the nose. The

[1] Vasseur *Annales du Musée d'histoire naturelle de Marseille* xiii, 1914, pl. xi.

[2] *B.S.A.* xxix 108 ff., where the Naukratis and Louvre banquet cups are brought together. The style of the oinochoe in question is certainly earlier, and in my opinion the vase is contemporary with Middle Corinthian. Its fellows are the lakaina fragments on PLATE 38 *a*, and the kylikes mentioned on p. 137.

figures on the Vatican kylix[1] shew the same wooden stiffness, and there are close parallels in the treatment of details, but this cup is later; the mouths are closed, with a downward cut at the inner corner, and the exterior has not received the same lavish care. The outside of the Cumae fragment is like it, while that of the Brussels kylix is identical with that of the Sparta vase *A.O.* pls. IX, X, undoubtedly its contemporary in date though the figures are by a different hand.

The *Hunt Painter* had a long career, and in his later work there are signs that the Lakonian fabric had passed its zenith. The following cups are by him:—

1. Berlin. Warriors' Return. *J.d.I.* 1901 pl. III.
2. Louvre E 671, fragment. Warriors. *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 3, 9.
3. Louvre E 670. Boar Hunt. *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pls. 3, 5 and 4, 1.
4. Leipzig. Boar Hunt. *J.d.I.* 1901, 191 fig. 1. Probably joins a fragment in Florence from the lower left part of the picture.
5. Leipzig. Zeus and Hermes. *A.A.* 1923–4, 82 ff. figs. 18, 19.
6. Florence. Komasts. *Boll. d'Arte* 1921–2, 169; Fig. 14, d.
7. Bibliothèque Nationale. Komasts. *C.V.A. Bib. Nat.* i pl. 22, 5–7; pl. 23, 4.
8. Sparta, fragment. Head of Komast. Plate 41 *d.*
9. Oxford, from Greece. Siren. Fig. 17.

Nos. 1–5 have a high stem, sharp-edged foot, and straight lip; 7 and 8 are of the 'miniature' type noted when discussing the Pegasos Painter, while 9 is like a 'Droop cup.' Four of these nine vases have similar subjects —male figures moving rapidly to the right, to hunt or do battle They are robust and compact, with swelling muscles and an admirable elasticity, the relations of Late Corinthian figures like *NC.* pls. 39, 1; 40, 2, 3; 41, 4. The painter is bold and fluent in his use of the graver, taking an especially strong line with the hair; all except nos. 1 and 2 shew the same stylisation of the knee and other muscles, careful fingers and toes, and a curved downward cut at the corner of the mouth. The Berlin cup and the Louvre fragment, no. 2, shew a different treatment for the knee, and lines on the legs are stiff and straight, with a kick at the end. Both these things point to the influence of the Arkesilas Painter, of whom our artist was perhaps a pupil, and their disappearance in the later cups is due to the perfecting of his own style. Droop states that no. 3 is unslipped,[2] but I think that both 3 and 9 have a very thin yellowish slip inside and out;[3] slip is, however, entirely lacking on no. 8. No. 9 is the latest of these vases, and perhaps the

[1] The handle-band is unslipped.

[2] *J.H.S.* 1910, 18. Wherefore he places it in the fifth century, but it is certainly by the same hand as the Berlin cup no. 1, which he dates about 545—an example of what may happen through turning a Nelson eye to the picture and observing the back of the canvas on which it is painted.

[3] So also Pottier *C.V.A.*, *loc. cit.*

earliest example of the ' Droop cup ' shape from Sparta.[1] Its date must be somewhere shortly after the middle of the sixth century, and it is only for the sake of convenience that I discuss it here instead of under its appropriate heading of Lakonian IV. Other cups or fragments can be connected with the Hunt Painter, though I am not sure that he painted them: Munich 38, kylix (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13); Taranto, a newly-discovered kylix of

Fig. 17.—Lakonian IV Kylix at Oxford (Hunt Painter).

[1] I am grateful to Prof. J. D. Beazley for calling my attention to this vase, here published by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum. Shape as Fig. 14 E, but no channelled rings round the stem, and a torus moulding where it joins the bowl. *Exterior*; lip black, handle-band with myrtle bough in black, omitting the stems, and palmette as Fig. 24, 8; bowl, bands and rays; foot, with groups of fillets on reserved ground round the stem, reserved band round the edge, and concentric bands on the reserved underside, the rest black. *Interior*; lip black, with reserved bands at top and bottom, and in centre of bowl, a medallion containing a siren with spread wings to right, surrounded with black fillets and purple bands and a broad black zone. A very thin yellowish slip covers the whole surface except where specified.

Droop-cup shape, also decorated with a goat; [1] Munich 385, kylix (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13) and fragments of a similar cup in Leipzig, decorated with fish like those on no. 3 above; Bryn Mawr, kylix with warriors (*A.J.A.* 1916, 309, pl. xi), evidently a miniature like nos. 6 and 7, but very carelessly drawn; Samos, kylix fragment, with Iolaus and the hydra; [2] Brussels, kylix fragment with a concentric frieze of komasts very like those on nos. 6 and 7; Sparta, fragment of a small bell-krater with komasts (*B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *d*). Pernice has remarked upon the ineptitude with which the Lakonian vase-painters cut their figures to fit them in a roundel, but so far as I know this is a peculiarity of the Hunt Painter alone.[3] It suggests that he was more used to decorating large pots with a continuous frieze, and a striking confirmation of this is given by a noble hydria recently found in Rhodes. This piece is decorated with a battle-scene which bears an extraordinary resemblance to Corinthian representations like *NC.* pl. 41, 4. I have not seen the vase, but judging from the notes which Prof. Beazley very kindly shewed me, I am convinced that it is the work of the Hunt Painter—especially as it is covered with inscriptions.[4] It would be hazardous to assume that this artist also made relief-pithoi, but examples like *A.O.* pls. XII, XV, and *A.A.* 1898, 139 fig. 50 [5] are very close in style to the painted vases and certainly belong to the same period.

In addition to the above there are several cups or fragments which cannot be so easily placed. In some cases concentric bands of ornament like that of the exterior cover the inside of the cup as well—Oxford 185 (*R.A.* 1907 i 398 fig. 14) and Vienna, Masner p. 14, belong to the ornate style of the Naukratis and Arkesilas Painters. Three have only a central rosette, surrounded by black and red fillets, then a broad zone of black; the Berlin example from Atalante [6] is of the 'miniature' shape, FIG. 14 D, with unincised black palmettes; one in Florence is unslipped on lip, handle-band and interior, with a handle palmette like that used by the Rider Painter, while the Munich cup 381, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13, is entirely unslipped and

[1] I wish to thank Mr. T. J. Dunbabin and Prof. J. D. Beazley for information about this cup.

[2] *A.M.* 1929, Beil. XVI 1. For one of the inscriptions see p. 163. The Arkesilas and Hunt Painters were apparently the only Lakonian painters of the time who knew how to write, and it is a fair chance that inscribed Lakonian III vases are by one or the other of them. On the outside of the Samos fragment are the feet of a komast frieze which recalls the figures on nos. 6 and 7 above.

[3] See *J.d.I.* 1901, 191–2.

[4] Published provisionally in *L'Illustrazione*, 13 January, 1935, p. 43. The resemblance in subject and treatment to Corinthian vases like *NC.* pl. 41, 4 gives a valuable indication of its date.

[5] In Dresden. No provenance recorded, but surely Lakonian. The archaic stone capital from Slavochori illustrated in *J.d.I.* 1918, 209 fig. 54 is an allied work on a larger scale.

[6] *Olympia* iv 202.

in exterior decoration exactly resembles an Attic lip-cup, except for a palmette as Fig. 24, 10. Probably cups like this are to be dated about the middle of the sixth century or a little later.

Louvre E 351 [1] is a very curious vase; the clay is a light yellowish buff, unlike the usual Lakonian. Reserved, inside, a band at top and bottom of lip; outside, the band on the lower bowl and the entire foot. There are no palmettes. The technique is good, and the vigorous drawing suggests the period of the Arkesilas cup, but I know nothing else of this shape.[2]

Bibliothèque Nationale 191 [3] is villainously repainted, but from the shape and from the palmette with a triangular member joining it to the handle I should put this cup near the beginning of the second quarter-century.[4] Both this and Louvre E 351 shew East-Greek influence in that the lower bowl is varnished black.

The Louvre fragment E 666,[5] with a cattle-raiding scene, shews coarse drawing, but is probably late Lakonian III. A fragment from Naukratis in the British Museum, Plate 38 *g*, pays an unusual attention to anatomical details, paralleled on the Berlin cup by the Hunt Painter, and clearly belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century.

Lakaina. The regular decoration of the lakainai found below the sand is a myrtle-wreath along the upper edge, heraldic animals or a floral complex on the lip, buds, rays or pomegranates on the bowl. Sometimes two or more figures adorn the lip; Plate 38 *a* and *A.O.* fig. 63 are in the miniaturist style, parallel to Middle Corinthian of the Gorgoneion-cup and Samos groups and the kylikes described on p. 137. Plate 38 *f*, a panther with incised rosette filling, is deceptively Corinthian in appearance. A handle palmette is often present, and that on Plate 41 *b* naturally connects the piece with the kylikes mentioned when dealing with the Pegasos Painter.[6] Slip is never omitted, and an unslipped lakaina may safely be put in the third quarter-century. *A.O.* fig. 50 *c* is exceptional, palmettes and half-rosettes being left in the slip against a purple ground laid over black. The nearest parallels are the sphinxes on *A.O.* pl. VIII and the neck of the Castellani volute krater (Mingazzini pl. XLII). I date the piece about 580–75.

Oinochoe. This was a very common shape at Sparta, but few were exported.[7] One fragment dates back to Lakonian II (p. 125 above, Fig.

[1] Sphinx. *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 8; Plate 44 *c* and Fig. 14 c.

[2] Perhaps the grooves round the stem indicate an early attempt at a kylix of 'Droop-cup' shape; this idea is supported by the concave profile of the lip.

[3] *C.V.A. Bib. Nat.* i pl. 23, 1–3. Reserved, bands inside lip, outside of lip, band on lower bowl, plastic ring at top of stem.

[4] Immediately connected with cups by the Hephaistos Painter.

[5] *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 7.

[6] P. 139 and Fig. 24, 6.

[7] Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x 5 shews one from Samos.

11 v). In the second quarter-century the neck splays out towards the shoulder, from which it is separated by a ridge; the shoulder is rounded or angular, the body rather squat. 'Rotelles' with dot rosettes in white paint on the ends flank the upper end of the handle,[1] and there are applied buttons inside the lip to imitate metal rivets. Between these is a plastic head—of a lion with purple mane and white-slipped face,[2] or of a woman. Unfortunately no complete specimens are available to co-ordinate the plastic style with the painted decoration, but PLATE 33 *h* shews the typical, long-faced head of the second quarter-century. At the base of the reeded handle is a plastic palmette, sometimes with branching snakes (*A.O.* fig. 65 *p*). The lip is always black; a pomegranate-frieze or net, or a guilloche decorates the neck, tongues or lotus buds overlap the shoulder, and an animal frieze and rays form the usual decoration of the body. Sometimes a rosette or square and circle is painted under the base. *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VII is contemporary with Middle Corinthian; *A.O.* fig. 64 has bolder animals and freer plant decoration, belonging to the second quarter-century. The shape *A.O.* fig. 73, where the neck springs at a sharper angle from the body and flares rapidly out to the lip, is later and should perhaps be dated after the mid-century; a similar development had already taken place at Corinth.[3]

Fruit Dish. I believe that fruit dishes such as FIG. 11 E were still made in Lakonian III, and that many of the high feet with painted bands on a white ground belong to them. PLATE 39 *b* and *A.O.* fig. 67 have very thick walls, too thick for a kylix; the decoration consists of an animal frieze around a central gorgoneion (compare PLATE 29), and of animal friezes on the outside. The horses on PLATE 39 *b* have the bent knee which first appears in Middle Corinthian, and almost certainly bore riders. Other published fragments of the shape are *A.O.* figs. 59 *q*, 60 *q*. A collection of feet is illustrated here, FIG. 15; it will be seen that they are much heavier than those of the kylikes.

Plates. The commonest shape is FIG. 14 H. The decoration of the exterior is like *A.O.* fig. 59 *w*, with a gorgoneion or catherine-wheel in the foot-ring[4]; inside there are tongues or rays on the lip, and the rest is black except for a small medallion containing an unincised rosette in the centre. Black bolster handles occur but are not usually ribbed; a dot-rosette in white is often painted on the ends. Variants are *A.O.* fig. 59 *o*, *r*, and the superb plate *A.O.* pl. XVII (= our FIG. 11 P). The shape is evidently taken from Middle Corinthian, but is far more sumptuous; exterior, gorgoneion; interior, red and black rosette, unincised. A

[1] Omitted in the restorations *A.O.* fig. 64 and *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VII. See *A.O.* fig. 65 for other details.

[2] PLATE 26 *e* shews a similar lion from what was perhaps the handle of a clay patera (found at the Argive Heraeum).

[3] *JHS.* 33 fig. 10 F, G.

[4] Examples: *A.O.* figs. 59 *t*, *u*; 60 *u*; *B.S.A.* xxviii 67 fig. 11 *a*.

curious pale orange colour is used on the tongues, in addition to the ordinary purple and this has, so far as I know, no parallels. The date is early, about 575.

Small bowls like *A.O.* fig. 59 *a* are not uncommon. One fragment with convex sides, and a fragment of a small olpe have embossed tongue patterns on them copied from metal vases.

The *bell-krater*, known in Lakonian II, continues, with animal-frieze decoration.[1] The shape is usually like *B.S.A.* xxviii 65 fig. 9, but one very large fragment in Samos has a flaring mouth with a ridge in relief running round it a short distance below the lip.

Apparently the *chalice* on a high foot must be reckoned among the shapes (Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x 7); this was also popular in Samos,[2] but as there is good evidence for seventh-century varieties from Sparta she may claim priority of invention. A fragment with komasts (*B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *d*) comes from a chalice or bell-krater and resembles the work of the Hunt Painter.

Hydria. I could identify no certain hydria fragments at Sparta, and at present only three specimens are known.[3] Louvre E 660 is by the same hand as the volute krater E 661;[4] under the handle are faint traces of heraldic goats. Strong metallic influence is shewn in the lip profile, the plastic rings round the neck and junction with shoulder, and the shape of the vertical handle and foot. There are no signs of decadence in style, and the vase dates near the middle of the sixth century, like the Corinthian red-ground hydriai *NC.* 327 nos. 1444 ff. The British Museum hydria B 58[5] has been identified as Caeretan or Attic in spite of its typically Lakonian fabric and style. The vase is less full-bodied than the Louvre hydria and less insistently metallic in detail; the rear handle joins the neck instead of the lip. The gorgoneion is unincised and the myrtle bough purple, but the drawing, particularly in the floral complexes under the handle, shews signs of decay, and I am inclined to put the vase after the mid-century. No parallels for the turkey-like birds (perhaps vultures?) exist except on the Boston hydria, which is not Lakonian—but this is further discussed on p. 187.

Dinos. The Louvre dinos (PLATE 42 *a*; *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pls. 7, 8)[6] was dated very early by Droop because it is covered with slip, but the remarkable, if erratic, freedom of drawing shews that it is near the mid-

[1] Cf. Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x 6.

[2] *Ibid.* pl. vi 1, and unpublished examples at Vathy.

[3] For the new hydria in Rhodes by the Hunt Painter, see p. 143.

[4] Hydria, *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 6, 3–4; krater, *ib.* pl. 6, 1–2.

[5] PLATES 43, 44*a*, *b*. Called Caeretan in the Brit. Mus. catalogue, and Attic by Pfuhl, i § 231.

[6] The vase is in a very bad state, the numerous restorations not being indicated in the official publication. See *J.H.S.* 1910, 8.

century, and perhaps even later. Figures are robustly built, formality in drawing is discarded, and the painter attempts the most difficult poses without hesitation. Compare the restive horses of Troilos with those on any Corinthian vase; the falling centaurs, too, have a riotous vitality quite alien to the restraint and dignity one expects from mainland drawing. The sphinx is a caricature (Fig. 18), and though one of the lions recalls that on the Taranto cup, Plate 47 *a*, the other and the unnatural birds have a very shaky pedigree. What conclusions can be drawn from style? Herakles, the kneeling figure, occurs already on the British Museum fragments, Plate 36 *g*; komasts about a krater are known from the Hunt Painter, the circular building from the Trophonios cup in Cassel, and the cocks are of true Lakonian type. But the anomalies of the animal drawing and the vehement temper of the mythological scenes strike an unaccustomed note; my own impression is that the vase was painted by an Ionian,

Fig. 18.—Sphinx from the Louvre Dinos.

perhaps enslaved at Sparta, who had only partially assimilated the local tradition. He drew on the current stock of motives, but gave free play to his own temperament in expressing them. That the vase is no Italian imitation is proved by the fabric. I could not identify any dinos fragments at Sparta, but there are remains of two at Samos, one of these evidently decorated with a figure-frieze. Mr. R. M. Cook tells me that the Bonn fragment (*A.A.* 1891, 17) comes from a krater, not a dinos.

Ring-vase. One fragment from below the sand at Orthia (Plate 38 *c*) is vertical, like *NC.* 313 fig. 155, but more slender, and has for decoration an incised scale pattern, with red dots on white stalks in each scale.

Tripod-pyxis. At Samos there is a fragment, probably from a tripod-pyxis like the Attic variety illustrated in *A.M.* 1922 pl. 12, 1.

Lids. *B.S.A.* xxviii 68 fig. 12 is a fine example dating about 575, but the shape of the pot it covered is uncertain. Plate 38 *d* shews a double knob from a lid found above the sand at Orthia.

Volute krater. Mingazzini *Castellani Catalogue* pl. xlii (now in the

Villa Giulia) is the earliest. Corinthian and Ionian influences have respectively been cited for the palmette decoration; the germ of the idea is surely Corinthian (*NC.* 53–4), but the treatment shews the boisterous spirit in which the Lakonian artist employed floral motives while they were still new to him and unstandardised.[1] Compared with Louvre E 661,[2] the shape looks early—body immensely full and broad in relation to height, foot small and undeveloped, volutes too unimportant to supply the rhythmic link between lip and shoulder. I date the vase not later than 570. As a shape, the Louvre krater E 661 has a harmony of proportion far in advance of the François vase, with its tapering body, adequate foot, and fine outward swing of the handles contrasting with the inward curve of the bowl. Lions and incised lotus buds are exactly like those on the hydria Louvre E 660, which is by the same hand; compare also the lions on the Bryn Mawr kylix *A.J.A.* 1916 pl. 11. The date must be about the mid-century,

FIG. 19.—LIP OF LAKONIAN III VOLUTE-KRATER AT SPARTA.

for the rich plant-ornament and fine execution are still in the best style of the fabric. Fragments from a krater in Samos have for decoration two animal friezes, one with horses drawn in a bold style like that of the Hephaistos Painter. Other fragments, all from different vases, were found on the Spartan akropolis (PLATES 38 *e*, 39 *d*, and FIG. 19). The second has on the neck a frieze of trees and hairy men with immense phalloi, one of them supporting the member in his hand.[3] FIG. 19 shews the double-flanged lip found on Attic volute kraters of the second half of the sixth century,[4] and in spite of its excellent technique, the advancement of shape in comparison with the Louvre volute-krater suggests that its proper place is somewhere after 550. A different type is Louvre *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pl. 2, 7 and *B.S.A.* xxxi 107 fig. 34 (from Eleutherna) with a handle resembling

[1] Compare also *A.O.* fig. 50 *c* and *B.S.A.* xxviii 69 fig. 12 *b*.

[2] *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 6, 1, 2.

[3] *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *b*. Not ' winged creatures in human form '. Compare the hairy man on PLATE 39 *a*.

[4] Hoppin *Black-figure Vases* 206 no. 20, by Nikosthenes. The subject of the fragment may be similar to that of PLATE 39 *d*.

that of the François vase.[1] The shape is a link with the much commoner column-krater, and I will discuss the question of date under that heading.

Column-krater.[2] Fragments of five are in the Sparta Museum, but the majority were exported. They have an extraordinarily wide distribution and were evidently mass-produced. Often the entire surface is varnished, but in many cases the lip-flange is slipped, with a band of very simple decoration; the handles are then slipped at the sides, and in one case are decorated with a tree (*Fouilles de Lindos* i, 307). Examples with rays at the base, black on slip or overlaid white on black, are rare. Droop maintains that some of these kraters belong to the Lakonian II period, because they bear the sigma and 'dot and square' pattern, but Miss Hartley implies that they all belong to the second half of the sixth century.[3] Her chief argument is that kraters with this kind of handle were not introduced at Corinth till the second quarter-century, and there shew evolutionary stages,[4] whereas all known Lakonian examples belong to the more developed form. Droop's theory is untenable—the sigma pattern occurs on certain sixth-century vases and would naturally be retained when the simplest and most mechanical patterns were needed for mass-produced articles; moreover, it is unlikely that so many kraters would be widely exported in the seventh century before the finer ware became known. With regard to Miss Hartley's view, it is clear that the handle shape was developed in metal before its adoption by the worker in clay, and we have evidence that the Lakonian potter was acutely sensitive to metallic fashions even in the seventh century.[5] A similar movement did not take hold at Corinth till the second quarter of the sixth century,[6] for the early and middle Corinthian vases in which Payne discovers metallic influence shew consistent regard for propriety in the use of clay and never attempt such bold elaborations as, for example, our PLATE 34 *a*, or *A.O.* fig. 55. Moreover, Lakonian vases are highly original in their shapes, for which they demanded no inspiration from Corinth, however great their debt in figure-drawing. Hence I believe that the Lakonian potter adopted the column-krater of 'Chalkidian' shape from his own compatriots' work in bronze, rather than from Corinthian clay vases; an established habit enabled him to translate the handle form into clay literally, without any timid half-measures like *NC.* fig. 174 A. The date of the earliest Lakonian column-kraters should fall well back in the second quarter-century, for the primitive, broad shape of some examples is barely in advance of the Castellani volute-krater (cf. *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 1, 3, 6). On the vase *ibid.* pl. 2, 7, the birds painted in white below

[1] There are fragments of a similar vase, but much smaller, from Naukratis in the British Museum, and others in Samos.

[2] See especially Mingazzini *Castellani Catalogue* 186–7.

[3] *B.S.A.* xxxii 247–54.

[4] *NC.* 330 fig. 174.

[5] See p. 122 and FIG. 11.

[6] *NC.* 212.

the handles link up with the familiar birds of Lakonian II, which may have outlived the first quarter-century. A grotesque outline head on the lip of a fragment from Naukratis, in Oxford, has no value for dating, being an artless caricature slyly inserted by some untrained hack. No doubt the fabrication continued over a long period, well into the second half-century, but without much modification of the original form; however, *ibid.* pl. 2, 1 looks very late with its flattened lip-flange, tapering body and poor varnish. The fragment reproduced in *B.S.A.* xxviii 73 fig. 14[1] is unslipped outside and varnished red inside; it resembles the Attic red-figure column-krater, and may even belong to the fifth century. It is clear that volute-kraters with handles of the shape shewn on *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 2, 7 come into the same category as the column-kraters, being cheap mass-produced articles in comparison with such elaborate vases as the other volute-krater in the Louvre; they too belong to the later Lakonian III period and possibly continue into the second half of the century.

Lakonian IV.

About 550 the Corinthian black-figure style came to an abrupt end. We have seen how much Lakonia depended on Corinth for inspiration in figure drawing, and when the source failed, she was forced to fall back on her own past tradition. No new creative impulse succeeded that of the first half-century; with few exceptions, the same ornaments were mechanically reproduced, the same animals appeared in advancing stages of decrepitude, and only occasionally did the figure style revive under influence from Attica. Droop would spin out the decline till well on in the fifth century, but I doubt whether the native tradition survived beyond the third quarter of the sixth. It is significant that the definitely late fragments from Orthia form a small total in proportion to those of Lakonian III. Unfortunately no dateable objects, such as Attic pottery, were found in the same strata, but we have one piece of external evidence which enables us to pin down a group of kylikes into the third quarter-century; hence I will begin a discussion of shapes with the kylix.

Kylix. Six obviously by the same hand are:—

1. New York. Sphinx. From Sardis. *A.J.A.* 1921 pl. iv and our Plate 45 *a*.[2]
2. British Museum B. 1. Rider. Plate 45 *b*.
3. British Museum B. 3. Komasts. From Sikyon. Plate 46 *a*.
4. Louvre E 665. Rider. From Italy. *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc. pl. 3, 10; 4, 3.
5. Leipzig. Komasts. From Caere. *A.A.* 1923–4, 86 fig. 20.
6. Würzburg 166. Banquet. From Italy. Langlotz *Katalog* pl. 28.

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[1] The drawing is unreliable.

[2] I am indebted to Miss G. M. A. Richter for the photograph.

All are of the same shape, with slightly convex lip passing imperceptibly into the bowl; the stem is high and the foot sharp at the edge. The handle-zone and a small ring just above the junction with stem are reserved; also bands inside at the top and bottom of the lip (except on the New York kylix). The fabric is thin and fine, the slip apt to be brownish, and the varnish thin.

Dr. Chase of Harvard University has very kindly given me details of the grave group in which no. 1 was found. There were two other vases; one was a trefoil-mouthed olpe with ribbon handle, painted with two heraldic panthers. From the photograph it looks like a degenerate provincial copy of Late Corinthian. The other was the Attic cup by Klitomenes published by H. R. W. Smith in *A.J.A.* 1926, 432–41, where it is dated ' between Exekias and Xenokles,' *i.e.* early in the third quarter-century. The plant ornament of the Lakonian kylix is rich, but late points are the very degenerate handle palmette (as FIG. 24, 10) and long stamens of the pomegranates. The sphinx is admirably drawn. The profile from the tip of the nose slopes sharply back in a straight line, and there is little back to the head; chin sharp and bony, eye an incised circle in a triangle, mouth terminated by a downward cut. One lock of hair seems to fall out of the ear, which has no lobe. Neck thick, body slender, feet carelessly drawn. These features are present, in whole or in part, on all the other five cups, though they are much inferior in execution. The style is on the whole dry and insipid; lanky, shambling figures, with only slipshod attempts to render joints or muscles. Corresponding carelessness and lack of comprehension are shewn in the floral complexes. It is worth comparing these paintings with a bronze mirror recently acquired by the Berlin Museum [1] (PLATE 45 *c*). Slender proportions, as on the cups, accompany a truly remarkable facial resemblance to the New York sphinx, which must be about contemporary.

At Sparta I could find no figured fragments by this painter, but there are a few with similar palmettes and plant-ornaments.

Closely related, though by a different hand, is the Leningrad kylix *J.d.I.* 1924, 28 pl. I, also shewing a rider, in an ornate but ill-controlled style; the Florence kylix with a kitharoidos and two komasts (*Bolletino d'Arte* 1921–2, 163, 165) is of about the same date.

Munich 383 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13), a small cup carelessly drawn, is a bastard descendant of similar works by the Hunt Painter; it needs only a comparison with PLATE 41 *a* to shew how the style is going to pieces. The Louvre ' Achilles,' *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 12,[2] and *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 22, 1, 4 (Polyphemos) also find their place here.

[1] Published by de Witte, *Signa Antiqua ex Museo* pl. XI (Amsterdam, 1710). PLATE 45 *c* is from the Berlin Museum photograph.

[2] Also *C.V.A. Louvre* i pl. 3, 12; 4, 2. The loose drawing and flocks of dejected birds suggest that this cup may actually be the work of the Rider Painter.

A new form of kylix was adopted in the Lakonian IV period, of which a typical example is the new Taranto cup, Fig. 14 e.[1] The lip is fairly thick and concave, giving greater emphasis to the shoulder; stem short, with a group of channelled grooves round it; foot of heavy fabric, with a thick vertical or rounded edge. The shape is the characteristic one of the Attic 'Droop-cups.' Droop and Ure regard Lakonian examples as the prototypes of the Attic and therefore earlier in date.[2] Now a 'Droop-cup' was found at Rhitsona in a grave (grave 50) dated about 560,[3] so, adopting the theory that Lakonia invented the shape, we must put Lakonian examples earlier still. As Droop observes in *J.H.S.* 1932, 303, all Lakonian specimens are definitely of 'Lakonian IV' character, and now he suggests pushing the dates of the whole fabric further back on the evidence of this grave-group. But why should the 'Droop-cup' be an imitation of Lakonian? Ure gives three reasons:[4] 1. the whole scheme of decoration; 2. the shape of the foot, with channelled rings; 3. a desire on the part of Attic potters to capture the Lakonian market in places where this shape was popular, by producing a more finished article of the same type. But, firstly, the system of external decoration in bands, largely of vegetable ornament, is by no means alien to the Attic fabric, occurring earlier on the 'Siana' cups; moreover, many of the motives used have no parallels in Lakonian. Then, secondly, Ure states that the channelled stem is foreshadowed by the painted rings of the Lakonian III period. But the only Lakonian III kylix I know with painted rings round the stem is the Arkesilas vase, all the others except Munich 382, Vatican 220 and a sherd in Delphi[5] having black stems. If it be implied that the shape is too ugly for the polished Attic potter to have invented it, the Nikosthenic or 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae should prove a corrective. Thirdly, it is an embarrassing tribute to the Lakonian potters to suggest that they had such a hold on any market as to keep out the Athenians. At Taranto, a Lakonian colony, there were found only four Lakonian kylikes of this shape, but at least eight Droop-cups, while every other kind of Attic kylix was richly represented. In fact, if there is any connection between the Droop-cup and the Lakonian IV kylix, the latter and not the former is the derivative.

The Taranto kylix (Plates 47, 48 *a*, Fig. 14 e) was found alone in a tomb

[1] *B.S.A.* xxviii, 71 fig. 13 *e* is a highly fanciful rendering of this kind of vase. The bowl is not so deep and it does not have baroque handles.

[2] *J.H.S.* 1910, 21 (Droop); Ἐφημ. 1915, 122, and *J.H.S.* 1932, 55 (Ure); *J.H.S.* 1929, 270 (Beazley and Payne).

[3] In *J.H.S.* 1932, 56, 57, though in *J.H.S.* 1909, 332 it is put after 550. The cup is described, but not illustrated, in Ἐφημ. 1915, 123.

[4] See pp. 123, 145 for my reason for attributing the painted feet to shapes other than the kylix. The cups Munich 382 (Sieveking-Hackl p. 34 fig. 48), Vatican 220 (Albizzati pl. XVII), and *Fouilles de Delphes* v 146 fig. 601 have downward-pointing rays, and not rings, as the chief ornament of their stems.

[5] *Fouilles de Delphes* v fig. 601.

near the museum.[1] The interior shews a late survival of the frieze system discussed on p. 133. The lyre-player may be taken as Apollo (he is evidently beardless), the reveller on a couch, grotesquely tilted to fit the space, as Dionysos. He receives a phiale from a winged daemon (cf. PLATE 42 *b*). Padded dancers round a krater are like those on the Rider Painter's cups, and the general style, if such a flattering word may be used, is near his. A degenerate work, fairly early in the third quarter of the sixth century.

Other vases dating in the third quarter are in Athens (*J.H.S.* 1908, 178 fig. 3, and *J.H.S.* 1910, 19 fig. 7); Munich 386 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13); Heidelberg (*J.d.I.* 1901, 193); Kassel (*A.A.* 1898, 189, figs. 2, 3) and Taranto (F.R. iii 212). For the crescent-pattern used as a frieze see *J.H.S.* 1910, 20; in view of the close connection between Sparta and Samos the idea may well have been suggested by the 'Fikellura' ware.

The Kassel kylix is rather wild in style, but the folds of Hermes' chlamys are an advance on any representation of drapery in the Lakonian III period.[2] The varnish is thin but brilliantly black, and on the superb Kyrene kylix at Taranto it is almost as good as Attic.[3] Apparently Kyrene's face and arms were designed for a coat of white paint which they never received. The very full krobylos is that common on Attic vases of the 'Leagros' period, and perhaps one of the very frequent Attic pictures of Herakles with the lion was in the artist's mind when he designed this tondo. The exergue is omitted according to Attic use, and the draperies, sown with red spots and stars, have folds suggestive of the Andokides Painter. This is the latest good Lakonian vase that we possess. Droop dates the Athens kylix, *J.H.S.* 1910, 19, fig. 7, down in the fifth century, but I see no reason for putting it later than the Kyrene cup.

Low cups. Very popular in Lakonian IV is a cup with ring foot, full body, and offset lip (FIG. 14 J). These are mostly unslipped, varnished black inside, and decorated with bands, careless rays, rows of dots, or a band of single or double leaves without a bough (cf. the exterior of the Heidelberg kylix, FIG. 14 D). Below the base is often a rosette (*A.O.* fig. 77 *l*) or square and circle (*A.O.* 77 *n*). Sometimes the whole cup is black except the handle-band, with a row of leaves on the clay and a few purple bands on the black (cf. *A.O.* fig. 75 *n*). When these occur on other Greek sites they are usually called Attic or Ionian, but some, including examples I have seen in Aegina and from Perachora, are certainly of Lakonian fabric.

Other shapes. The lakaina, oinochoe, plate, and tall bell-krater are still

[1] Diam. 24·7 cm. Slip badly encrusted but fairly thick, varnish thin and poor, purple thick, inclining to brown. Reserved, lip and handle-band, plastic ring at top of stem, ridges between the grooves, edge of foot; inside, bands at top and bottom of lip. My own photograph, PLATE 47 *b*, is reproduced as giving a clearer view of the lower segment.

[2] Note that folds hardly ever occur on Corinthian drapery (*NC.* 108, 112), supporting the view that this vase was produced after Attic influence had supplanted Corinthian.

[3] Perhaps the Lakonian potter had learnt the technical secret from Attica.

common. Probably new are miniature oinochoai of several shapes, mostly black but sometimes with band or debased vegetable decoration with or without slip. These correspond to a common 'Late Corinthian II' series (*NC.* 336, nos. 1536 ff.).[1]

A kind of large, closed bowl is represented by many fragments (unslipped; as Fig. 14 g). The column-krater still persists; *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 2, 1, is a very late example. One fragment [2] is of a new type, that popular in Attica during the late black- and early red-figure periods.

Of the Lakonian figure style at this date apart from the show pieces above described, *A.O.* figs. 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, will give an idea; it is extremely careless, but largely retains its local character. Kylix interior decoration is usually confined to a small roundel in the centre (cf. *A.O.* fig. 71 *b*, *B.S.A.* xxviii 71, fig. 13 *e*.) I add three sherds from low-footed cups of a shape common in late Attic black-figure (Plate 48 *b*); these and *A.O.* fig. 78 *a* betray strong influence from that quarter.

After Lakonian IV. Much of Droop's Lakonian V class I should regard as sixth-century work, probably not later than 520. The remainder, and all of his sixth class, are a medley of barbaric imitations of Attic pottery, and some are clearly Hellenistic; they have no aesthetic and little archaeological importance.

Black Polychrome, Miniature, and Plastic Vases.[3]

In the Museum at Sparta are the remains of many small vases almost entirely covered with black varnish. These have been collected together in boxes with no labels to shew whether they had a place in the stratification, and consequently it is now hard to date them. Decoration is of three kinds: 1. narrow bands of white paint laid over the black varnish; 2. narrow fillets of white paint on each side of a broad purple band, both laid over the varnish; 3. a broad purple band laid on the clay, above and below which shew narrow borders of reserved clay, the rest of the vase being varnished black. Some of the better specimens are shewn in Fig. 20; smaller and more careless ones in *A.O.* fig. 82. Fig. 20 a–e, g, m suggest, by their shapes, the Lakonian II period; their decoration is in white and purple paint laid over the varnish. A purple band laid directly on the slip is the usual form of decoration for the small oinochoai Fig. 20 h–l. The latter are, perhaps, a counterpart to the late Corinthian oinochoai described in *NC.* 336–7, and must belong to the

[1] Some black polychrome specimens are shewn on Fig. 20.

[2] Apparently that shewn in *B.S.A.* xxviii 73 fig. 14. Exterior unslipped, brown-red varnish inside neck.

[3] See *A.O.* 106; *B.S.A.* xxviii 62.

middle of the sixth century or later. Fig. 20 N is a 'pilgrim flask,' [1] evidently from the Akropolis; the square-cut sides are painted with purple on the slip.

The aryballoi are very numerous.[2] Two were made of a dull, greyish bucchero, and were probably East-Greek importations. Fig. 20 O is a seventh-century shape; two examples like P are in Taranto and will no

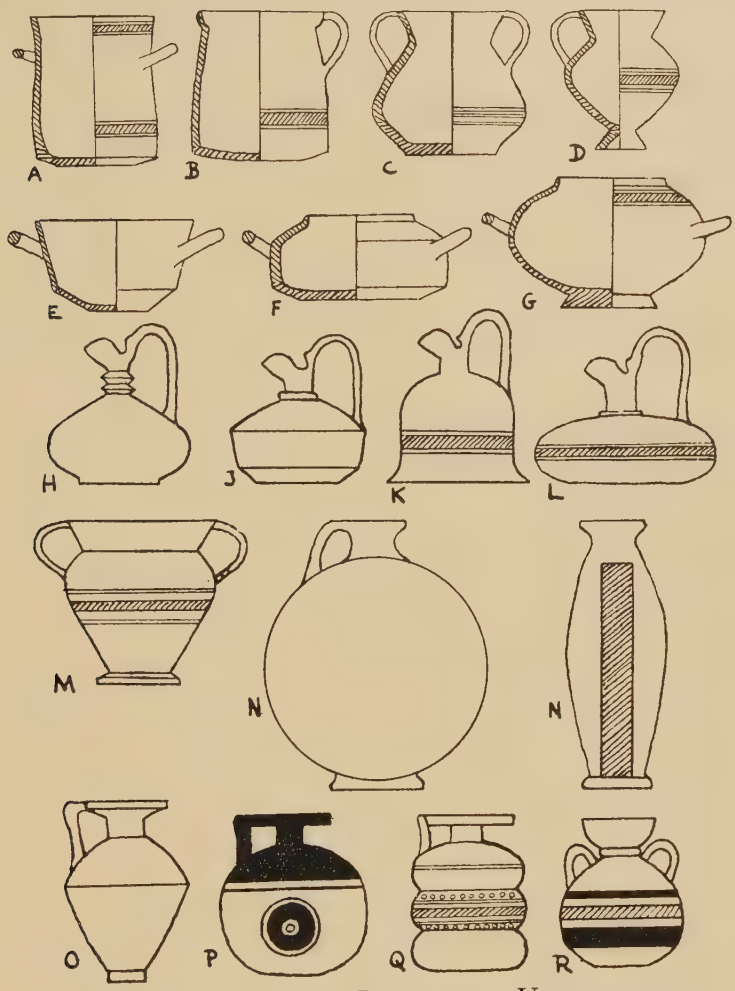

Fig. 20.—Black Polychrome Vases.

[1] Height 16·8 cm.

[2] In *A.M.* 1927, 53 ff. an attempt is made to date these on grounds of style, shape of lip, etc. The round shape was adopted at Corinth in the last quarter of the seventh century, and there are a few Lakonian fragments bearing the 'dot and square' which is commonest before 590. But one white-bottomed aryballos was found at Rhitsona with Middle Corinthian (*J.H.S.* 1910, 355 fig. 19).

doubt belong to the early sixth century.[1] Contemporary with them are the black aryballoi *NC.* 204 fig. 90, decorated with a purple band, white fillets, and rows of white dots laid over the varnish. A more elaborate variety is like FIG. 16, usually in plain black; I would date the Corneto example about 580–75. FIG. 20 Q, from Rhodes (now in Berlin), is decorated with paint laid over the varnish.[2] About the mid-century and later the aryballoi seem to become more flattened, and the decoration consists of a purple band laid direct on the clay, with a narrow reserved border above and below. FIG. 20 R is unusual, and its lip may be compared with that of the spouted aryballos on *A.O.* fig. 70 C. The surface is slipped, and the vase probably belongs to the Lakonian II period.

In the Sparta Museum there are a few fragments of very large, open vases with 'black polychrome' decoration and elaborately moulded profiles. A piece belonging to the same vase as *A.O.* fig. 56, bottom (not there illustrated) is decorated on the lip with a rosette and a horizontal lotus-palmette, both incised. As incised palmettes do not appear before the later work of the Hephaistos Painter, I would suggest that the date of this vase falls in the second or third decade of the sixth century (Lakonian III, not Lakonian II).

Plastic vases from Sparta are rare. Three aryballoi in the form of *helmeted heads* are shewn on PLATE 35 *c*, *d*, *e*[3]; they are certainly of local fabric and may be compared with similar vases made at Corinth and in East Greece.[4] Their date is hard to judge from style, but it probably falls about the beginning of the sixth century.

PLATE 33 *g* shews a ring-vase with a plastic female head at the mouth, which was first published as Corinthian.[5] However, the style is quite different from that of authentic Corinthian heads, and it is not impossible, in spite of unusual features,[6] that the vase is Lakonian of the first quarter of the sixth century.

A *partridge*,[7] slipped, with details in black varnish, overlaid white, and purple, is shewn on PLATE 37 *c*. Its back was hollowed out, possibly to serve as a salt-cellar.

[1] The concentric circles on the lower part are exceptional, the more usual decoration being like *NC.* 204 fig. 91.

[2] Others in Boston, *Catalogue* pl. xlii no. 419; Ἐφημ. 1910, 287 fig. 7 ε.

[3] Two already published, *B.S.A.* xxviii 64, *A.O.* fig. 70 *e*.

[4] *NC.* 178–9; Maximova *Les vases plastiques* 153 ff. A similar vase in bronze from the Spartan akropolis is published in *B.S.A.* xxviii 92 no. 23, and bronze helmeted heads were also found at Olympia, Bassae and Kaiapha, all places within the Spartan pale (*B.S.A.* xxviii *loc. cit.*).

[5] *A.O.* fig. 70 *g*.

[6] Clay soft and powdery, pale yellow buff. No slip. Decoration round the body consists of diagonal wavy lines in black varnish.

[7] Easily recognisable as the Mediterranean partridge, *Alectris graeca*, which appears on 'Fikellura' and 'Pontic' vases (*NC.* 174 note 1).

The Lakonian Figure-Subjects.

Lack of space forbids more than a summary catalogue of the subjects dealt with by Lakonian vase-painters, and for the wider religious or ethnological aspects I can only refer to previous literature. One point must be stressed: it is fatal to regard the mythological scenes depicted by Bathykles on the Amyklae throne as a source of inspiration for the vase-paintings.[1] Pausanias is reticent as to Bathykles' date,[2] but the style of the surviving fragments from the throne shew that it was not built before the end of the sixth century,[3] and by this time the best Lakonian vases had been painted and the fabric was in full decline.

I will deal with the subjects in two classes, the one drawing its matter from everyday human life, the other from mythology.[4]

SCENES FROM HUMAN LIFE.

It is surprising to find that the strong military bias of Spartan society has very little effect on the choice of subjects; far more popular are hunting and convivial scenes.

Boar-Hunts occur three times.[5] The animal is of portentous size, and the inconvenient kylix roundel has been chosen where a frieze or panel on a large pot would have been a more suitable field. Something must be sacrificed to the demands of space—rather the animal than the hunters, so we get only the back or front half of the boar. For the same reason the famous Molossian hounds are omitted, though hounds occur on the Corinthian renderings which the Lakonian artists followed (cf. *NC.* pls. 31, 1–4; 41, 1).

The *Hare-Hunt* occurs on a Lakonian I piece (pl. 26 *f.*) 1, on the Hephaistos Painter cup, pl. 35 *a*, and probably on two other early Lakonian III cup fragments in Samos. The subject was best adapted to a narrow

[1] Mrs. J. M. Woodward's article in *J.H.S.* 1932, 25 ff. is entirely based on the misapprehension that Lakonian vases with figure subjects are later than the throne. Unless Fiechter and Buschor are wrong, that would involve setting the *floruit* of the vase fabric early in the fifth century.

[2] Paus. iii 18, 9.

[3] Fiechter in *J.d.I.* 1918, 242 ff.; Buschor in *A.M.* 1927, 18–21.

[4] With the reservation that some are of such dubious interpretation that they might belong to either class.

[5] Plate 41 *a*; Leipzig-Florence (*A.A.* 1923–4, 82, see p. 141 above), both by the Hunt Painter, and Munich 383 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13), a later cup in his manner. For this painter's tendency to cut a panel-picture to fit a round frame, see p. 143. Perhaps he was more accustomed to painting large pots like the new hydria from Rhodes (see p. 143), where the space was less circumscribed. For boar-hunting in Lakonia, see Xenophon *Cyneg.* x. There are no lion-hunts on Lakonian vases, and in avoiding this subject Lakonia follows Corinth. The absence of the lion-hunt incidentally tells against the theory of a factory at Kyrene, where the lion would take the place of the boar as the hunters' greatest prize.

frieze and the huntsmen are never shewn. The latest of the known examples seems to date about 570, long after the hare-hunt had been abandoned by Corinthian painters (*NC.* 116, note 9); this was no doubt due to the popularity of the sport in Sparta.[1]

A *Fox*, distinguished by its shaggy coat, is being coursed on the fragments, PLATE 35 *b*.[2]

The *Hunters' Return*, laden with spoil, is shewn on the Oxford fragment *J.H.S.* 1910, 12 fig. 4; ducks (?) shot with the bow are strung from a pole carried by the foremost hunter, and the man behind holds up a dead fox by the forepaws.

The Bonn fragment *A.A.* 1891, 17 apparently shews a hunting scene, but the quarry is lost.

Banqueting Scenes occur on six kylikes (including fragments).[3] The Brussels banqueter shares his couch with a nude courtesan; on the Würzburg cup he is with a flute-girl, and a padded dancer gesticulates to the left. How can we explain the appearance of these women on vase-paintings, when literary evidence is so unanimous as to the strictness of Spartan social life? Either, later writers have omitted to mention an institution so incongruous with their own ideal of Sparta, or the courtesan of Lakonian art had no counterpart in real life. On Corinthian vases the banquet is a very popular subject from the end of the seventh century onwards,[4] but at Sparta it was evidently not adopted till the second quarter of the sixth. The Lakonian versions are so like the Corinthian [5] that they may safely be regarded as derivative, and perhaps the hetaira and flute-girl were borrowed from Corinthian vase painting as artistic material without any allusion to local Spartan institutions. On the Louvre banquet-cup, PLATE 42 *b*, an exceptional arrangement causes the couches to be omitted through lack of space. There are no hetairai, and the cup-bearer is a boy; the winged daemons and sirens in attendance have led Weicker to explain the picture as a representation of the 'totenmahl.'[6] The winged

[1] Cf. Xenophon *Cyneg.* v–viii for hare-hunting in the Peloponnese.

[2] Foxes still abound on Taÿgetos and are shot by the modern Spartans.

[3] Brussels (Richter *Ancient Furniture* fig. 171); Cumae fragment (*M.A.* xxii pl. 60, 1), both by the Arkesilas Painter; *C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 3, 2, our PLATE 42 *b*; Würzburg *Kat.* 166, pl. 28; Taranto Kylix, PLATE 48 *a*.

[4] See *NC.* 118.

[5] Table for food and vessels, footstool for climbing the couch and putting the boots and shoes on (*C.V.A. Louvre* i III Dc, pl. 3, 2). Dinos on stand, compare PLATE 42 *b* with *NC.* pl. 27; cups of the Corinthian shape *NC.* 297 fig. 132, and 119, fig. 44 D occur on our PLATE 42 *b*, but otherwise the shape is at present unknown in Lakonian. The legs of Lakonian couches are turned, and more slender than Early Corinthian (*NC.* pl. 27); later Corinthian prefers legs square in section with cut-out sides (Richter *Ancient Furniture* 59 ff.).

[6] Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* 14 ff. The riders crowned by winged figures have no funereal significance; see p. 167 below.

daemons alone might be ἔρωτες or symbols of εὐδαιμονία, but the siren has definitely funereal associations, which at least give colour to Weicker's explanation. On the other hand, where a closely analogous subject is handled on the Spartan tomb-reliefs, the dead man is usually accompanied by his wife and children, and this family atmosphere is lacking on the Louvre cup. On the whole, I would reject the ' totenmahl ' idea, because the kylix is a vase used for convivial occasions and not for funerals.[1] On the Taranto kylix, PLATE 48 *a*, the banqueter may represent Dionysos; he receives a phiale from a winged daemon, but the presence of padded dancers should serve to dispel any ideas about death and the grave.

Battle Scenes occur on four vases only,[2] though from their popularity with Corinthian artists one would have expected more examples. Perhaps they were kept for the decoration of those large vases of which few have survived, and future excavation may give us further examples to set beside the new hydria from Rhodes. In Samos there are now fragments from a krater which had a frieze with a chariot. The Return from Battle on the Berlin cup (*J.d.I.* 1901 pl. 3) was clearly cut down from a rectangular panel, and perhaps the complete frieze existed on a krater or hydria now lost. Helmets[3] are all of Corinthian type; shields round, shewn full-face or in profile. Metal breastplates and greaves are usually worn.[4]

Processions would best suit the frieze on a large upright vase, and the remains of such vases are scanty; I have found only one example—on the lakaina fragments PLATE 38 *a*. Nude youths on horseback, a woman carrying a lotus-bud sceptre, nude man, veiled woman with himation. The purpose of the procession is not clear.

The *Riders* on three kylikes[5] call for comment, since Weicker[6] has attempted to give them a religious interpretation. On the London cup, the winged daemon is clearly a ' Nike,' and perhaps she is crowning a victor from the Olympian games: an obvious analogy is found in the chariot pictures on fifth-century Syracusan coins. I find it hard to attach anything beyond a purely decorative meaning to the anthemion sprouting

[1] Though the Berlin cup with the return from battle depicts an equally untimely subject.

[2] *A.O.* pl. VIII (lakaina); *C.V.A. Louvre*, i, III Dc, pl. 3, 9 (kylix fragment), two warriors pursuing a third; *A.J.A.* 1916 pl. xi (kylix), wounded warrior retreating from his foe, cf. *NC.* pl. 39, 1, 2; Rhodes, hydria, *L'Illustrazione*, 13 Jan. 1935, p. 48.

[3] Though another type of helmet was also used at Sparta—cf. *A.O.* pls. XVI top right, CVIII. This notched variety is found on the Lakonian bronze hoplite from Olympia, *Olympia* iv pl. vii 41.

[4] One kylix fragment from the Argive Heraeum shews an oval shield, but the Boeotian type does not occur.

[5] Brit. Mus. B. 1 (PLATE 45 *b*); Louvre, *A.Z.* 1881 pl. xiii 3; Leningrad, *J.d.I.* 1924 pl. 1.

[6] *Der Seelenvogel* 14 ff.

from the rider's head, or to the budding stick carried by the Leningrad rider; both features occur elsewhere in Lakonian vase-painting.[1]

The *Komos*. Much has already been written about the komasts and padded dancers who appear on sixth-century vases,[2] and I have little to add beyond the publication of two new examples. The earliest is the kylix PLATES 39 *a* and 40, shewing a scene without parallel in Lakonian art. Of the four women, two are engaged in a grotesque dance, one in a symplegma, the last in by-play of another kind. The dancers' dress is reduced to a close-fitting cap on the buttocks, [3] and anklets painted in purple. One man watches his fellow perform (both these are normal beings); the remaining figure is a hairy monster who would pass for a silen if he had a tail.[4] No doubt all are meant to be human, and the distortions are due to deliberate caricature. Some orgiastic rite is in progress—perhaps the women in their odd dress are dancing the Kordax with the object of securing fertility for the crops. Who is the deity in whose honour the performance takes place? Payne connects the komos on Corinthian vases with the worship of Dionysos (*NC.* 119–21), but here we have none of the drinking apparatus which in that case acts as a clue. At Elis, the Kordax was danced in honour of Artemis, and when we take into consideration that our vase was dedicated at the Orthia sanctuary, there is a strong probability that Artemis is the presiding deity.[5]

The other komos scenes on Lakonian vases have a more expressly Dionysiac atmosphere and a krater often bulks large in the composition.[6] Only on the London kylix, PLATE 46 *a*, are they normal and sober; usually they are grotesquely fat and perform an undignified dance. As on Corinthian, their deformity is artificial and produced by padding; [7] the dance, to judge from the Bibliothèque Nationale kylix, is of the Spartan variety mentioned by Aristophanes,[8] and music is supplied by the syrinx

[1] Anthemion sprouting from the head of a decorative figure, Munich 382, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13; as a wand, on PLATE 38 *a*, and on the Arkesilas cup.

[2] Schnabel *Kordax*; Payne in *NC.* 118 ff.; Greifenhagen *Eine Attische Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung, passim.*

[3] Compare the dress worn by komasts on the ' Naukratite ' vases, *J.H.S.* 1924 pl. xi.

[4] See p. 148 for further discussion.

[5] Schnabel *op. cit.* 42.

[6] Examples: 1. Brussels, unpublished kylix fragment, fat komasts in short chitons dancing in a narrow frieze round the interior, probably dating from about 575 (see p. 143); 2. *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *d* (nude and not padded); 3. *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i, pl. 22, 7 (nude, but fat as if padded); 4. Florence, *Boll. d'Arte* 1921–2, 169 (apparently padded) (nos. 2–4 by the Hunt Painter, second quarter of the sixth century); 5. Louvre dinos, *C.V.A.* i. III Dc, pls. 7, 8 (with beards and padded); 6. Brit. Mus. B. 3, PLATE 46 *a* (nude, not padded); 7. Würzburg, *Kat.* no. 166, pl. 28 (one dancer, padded); 8. Taranto kylix, PLATE 47 *b* (padded).

[7] Except for the Paris kylix no. 3, where the dancers are nude but nevertheless fat.

[8] Ar. Lysistrata 82, ποτὶ πυγὰν ἄλλεσθαι; Pollux iv 102, ἄλλεσθαι καὶ ψαύειν τοῖς ποσὶ πρὸς τὰς πυγάς.

and double-flute. Nowhere are these komasts in divine company, and the treatment of the subject is so close to Corinthian that Payne's remarks in *NC.* 118–24 apply to both fabrics.

A *Dance* of a more dignified kind, performed to the music of the κιθάρα, takes place on the top frieze of the Taranto kylix PLATE 48 *a*, and the Florence kylix *Boll. d'Arte* 1921–2, 163, 165, where the dancers wear a short chiton or nothing at all; the short chiton is also worn on a frieze of dancers which runs across the interior of a fragmentary kylix in Samos (PLATE 39 *e*).

The *Arkesilas* kylix [1] is the earliest Greek vase with a topical subject, and stylistic considerations justify us in assuming that it represents Arkesilas II, who reigned about 565–550. The king sits under an awning, wearing an unusually ornate sun-hat; [2] in his left hand he holds a budding sceptre. His servants are weighing and packing wool [3] into wicker baskets, and two porters, under the watchful eye of the steward, run to stack them in the store-room.[4] In the field are all kinds of filling animals—the tame cat under the chair,[5] a lizard running up the wall,[6] the usual birds, and a flying stork.[7] On the awning pole sits a monkey, evidently tame, since it wears a collar.[8] The whole scene is painted with a wealth of local colour that could only have been collected on the spot, but that seems to me insufficient ground for assuming that the vase was made by a potter resident in Kyrene. He visited the city—he may even have visited Egypt,[9] for the similarity of the

[1] See *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i for full bibliography; Buschor in F.R. iii 212, pl. 151, for the best reproduction.

[2] Not a specifically African type; this conical hat is found on the Lakonian fragment *A.A.* 1891, 17 (in Bonn), and on a series of Arkadian bronze statuettes. One of the latter series in Athens has a hat with fine feathery volutes curving back from a lotus-bud; for others see W. Lamb *B.S.A.* xxvii 133 ff.

[3] The idea that the white, fluffy substance represents the silphion cannot be reconciled with Theophrastus' account (*Hist. Plant.* vi, 3, 1): ὅταν βάλωσι εἰς ἀγγεῖα καὶ ἄλευρα μίξωσι σείουσι χρόνον συχνὸν, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ χρῶμα λαμβάνει καὶ ἐργασθὲν ἄσηπτον ἤδη διαμένει. Instead of packing the stuff into jars to keep it moist, they are putting it in open wicker baskets. The right explanation was given by de Luynes as early as 1833 (*Annali* v 60).

[4] The disposal of the awning is admittedly hard to follow, but it seems unlikely that the canvas represents the sail of a ship, because when ships are anchored in harbour, they have their sails furled. So the lower part of the cup represents a store-room, not the hold.

[5] See Keller *Antike Tierwelt* 86; here the animal is modelled on the familiar Corinthian 'panther.'

[6] Compare *A.O.* fig. 74.

[7] It has been suggested that this is the Egyptian marabu (see Buschor in F.R., *loc. cit.*).

[8] Monkeys must have been familiar in Sparta, for there are other representations which were found locally. *A.O.* pl. IX is one, and another, eating a fruit, sits on the bronze handle PLATE 41 *e*. This is in the store-room of the museum without any indication of provenance, but another similar handle was found on the akropolis. This long-nosed type differs from Arkesilas' monkey, but is very like an East-Greek plastic vase figured in Maximova *Les vases plastiques* 115 and pl. xiv 57.

[9] Considering the number of Lakonian vases which reached Naukratis, this is not improbable.

subject to certain Egyptian wall-paintings is unmistakable; [1] but it seems a perfectly reasonable assumption that he could have drawn on his memories of Egypt and Kyrene if he painted the cup after his return to Sparta. That Lakonian art should concern itself with the pursuits of a foreign king is no harder to explain than the popularity of the Sultan in Venetian painting of the late fifteenth century; in both cases the interest born of political associations is heightened by that of contemplating the unfamiliar and picturesque. The inscriptions on the Arkesilas kylix have been sufficiently discussed,[2] and I have only one comment to add. A belief that the figures are packing the silphion has led to a mistaken interpretation of the word σλιφόμαχος; as the stuff is not silphion but wool, this cannot mean 'the silphion handler' with particular reference to the scene depicted. It may be a word peculiar to the Kyrenaic dialect and otherwise unknown, or perhaps, in silphium-producing Kyrene, the word 'Sliphomachos' (Silphomachos) had become a common man's name; but if we adopt the transliteration σιλφόμαχος there is still another possible, though very doubtful, interpretation which preserves the Greek, namely that the person so labelled is 'the cockroach-fighter.' [3]

MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS.

When drawing mythological subjects, the Lakonian vase-painters are almost wilfully obscurantist in comparison with their contemporaries at Corinth. We know that the Arkesilas and Hunt Painters were able to write, but only two of the thirteen vases I divide between them bear inscriptions, and of these one is so damaged as to be unintelligible. Our need of help is all the greater because some of the subjects are without parallel in Greek art, and literature has recorded no early archaic thesauros of mythology which might have supplied material for potters in Lakonia as the Chest of Kypselos supplied it in Corinth. At least one writer has tried to collate the vase-paintings with Pausanias' account of Bathykles' throne at Amyklai,[4] but archaeological evidence has shewn that the throne was not built until nearly two generations after the vase-fabric had passed its climax. Another difficulty in our path was shrewdly hinted at by Pernice,[5] namely

[1] See Puchstein in *A.Z.* 1881, 185–6.

[2] F.R. iii, 211–12 (Buschor); Studniczka *Kyrene* 11 ff.; *R.A.* 1907, i, 401 (Dugas; somewhat eccentric); *Athenaeum* iv 1916 (Patroni); *B.S.A.* xxiv 96–7, 117 (Woodward). The inscriptions are: Ἀρκεσίλας, (ἰ)σοφορτος, σταθμός, (ε)ἰρμοφόρος, ὄρυξο(ν) (imperative of ὀρύσσω, 'haul away'), σλιφόμαχος, φύλακος, μα(γ)έν, (from μάσσω).

[3] σίλφη = Lat. blatta. Arist. H.A. 17, 8; Ael. N.A. 1, 37; Luc. Gall. 31.

[4] Mrs. J. M. Woodward, in *J.H.S.* 1932, 25 ff. See also p. 157 above. Paus. iii 19, 9 ff.

[5] *J.d.I.* 1901, 189 ff.

that many of the surviving pictures are found on kylikes, with a suggestion that they have been lifted out of their context on a frieze. Perhaps the future discovery of larger Lakonian vases, where the whole scene unfolds itself, will provide the explanation for the more or less truncated representations on the cups.

Herakles is the most popular hero, as we should expect among a people who traced their ancestry back to him. Herakles and the Hydra occur three times on vases:

1. Kylix fragment from Naukratis, now in Oxford. PLATE 34 *c*. Hephaistos Painter group, early sixth century.
2. Kylix fragments from Caere, at Leipzig. PLATE 34 *b*. Date as no. 1. Evidently the roundel was cut by an exergual line just below the middle, and our fragments belong to the upper part. Herakles has shot the hydra and raises his club; the arrangement is uncertain.
3. Kylix fragment from Misokampos, Samos. *A.M.* 1929, Beil. xvi 1. One of the rare inscriptions identifies Iolaus—ΞΑΛΟΙϜ. The object in front of him is evidently a decapitated neck.

The only other Lakonian representation I know [1] is the ivory relief *A.O.* pl. CII 1; from the drawing it looks earlier than the vases—perhaps last quarter of the seventh century, but surely not Geometric.[2] It is hard to say from the fragments how closely Lakonian examples approach the Corinthian described by Payne in *NC.* 126 ff.

Herakles and the Centaurs. Once only, on the Louvre dinos (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 7, 2). Herakles wears a bow and carries a club. I have discussed the style of the vase on p. 147.

Herakles led to Olympus. Dr. Curtius kindly informed me that he interprets the scene on the kylix in his possession as Hyakinthos led to Olympus by Polyboia, but I remain to be convinced by his article that it is not the introduction of Herakles to Zeus and Hera by Athena. Fragments of a similar scene appear on the British Museum fragment from Naukratis PLATE 36 *c*, though there the subject is not clear.[3] It is interesting to find this inconvenient representation of two seated figures, one almost hidden by the other, on a vase; the analogy with the later Chrysapha relief at once suggests itself. Contrast the treatment on the poros pediment from the Athenian akropolis,[4] where Zeus and Hera are to be thought of as sitting beside each other, but to avoid complications a convention has

[1] I could not find the fragments at Sparta mentioned by Payne, *NC.* 128.

[2] *A.O.* 211–12.

[3] *J.H.S.* 1932, 39 for a suggestion that the figures are Pluto and Kore; Studniczka *op. cit.* 22 (Battos and Kyrene).

[4] Richter *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* fig. 380.

been adopted whereby Zeus sits in profile and Hera, before him, in full face.

The Ambush for Troilos is represented on the Louvre dinos (PLATE 42 *a*, and *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 7), of about the mid-century. The motive of a kneeling warrior occurs on two other vases; one, the kylix *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 12, 2 (Louvre E 669), shews him again, by a building which may represent a well. Pernice [1] suggests that here we have the *disjecta membra* of a Troilos frieze, and I am convinced that he is right. On our PLATE 36 *g* we again find the kneeling warrior, and in the exergue beneath is the rear end of a horse. In Samos, fragments of a second kylix, by the same hand, and probably painted with the same subject, shew the front end of the horse and part of a young man who is leading it to the left (PLATE 36 *f*). From the scale we can judge that the exergual division comes at the same place as on the London fragments, and perhaps by now fragments from the upper part of the picture have been found shewing the warrior kneeling by the well. The evidence is admittedly incomplete, but in three kylikes, British Museum, Samos and Louvre, we seem to have representations of the Troilos scene. In the first two it is in two sections, Achilles and the well above, Troilos and the horses below in the exergue. But there is an interval of about thirty years between these and the Louvre kylix, and in that time it became the fashion for kylix compositions to increase the space above the exergue at the expense of what lay below—so that Troilos is omitted altogether. The snake wound round the column of the well was perhaps put in by the vase-painter as a rather lame explanation for the crouching warrior's attitude; I doubt whether the artist had a clear enough idea in his own mind to justify attempts to interpret the finished picture as Kadmos at the Theban spring,[2] or as Apollo and the Python.[3]

The Blinding of Polyphemos occurs once, on the kylix from Nola in the Bibliothèque Nationale; a tame rendering with one touch of grim humour—the legs held up by Polyphemos as a reminder of the meal he had just enjoyed.

Philoktetes, led away from Lemnos by Odysseus and Neoptolemos, is Pfuhl's [4] suggestion for the Athens kylix *J.H.S.* 1910, 19, fig. 7. This is far more likely than Droop's interpretation of the subject as Teiresias being led away from Oidipous by his guide.[5] In the first place, 'Teiresias' has no seer's staff, and the 'ominous' birds are mere filling ornament; in the second, the 'guide' has the old man by the scruff of the neck and employs quite unnecessary violence. Thirdly, if the left-hand figure were Oidipous, he should be wearing king's raiment, or at least a long chiton.

Other Myths. A cattle-raiding scene on a kylix fragment in the Louvre

[1] *J.d.I.* 1901, 192.
[2] Studniczka, *op. cit.* 33, 57.
[3] Hauser in *Ö. Jh.* x 9.
[4] *Op. cit.* i § 232.
[5] *J.H.S.* 1910, 20.

has been explained as the *Capture of Melampous by Iphiklos*,[1] *Herakles and the cattle of Geryones*, or *Herakles and the Cretan Bull*.[2]

Kyrene wrestles with the lion on the Taranto kylix, F.R. III, 212, fig. 4. The subject is a rare one, but would be known to the painter from the pediment of the Kyrenaic treasury at Olympia.[3] The female figure on the British Museum cup from Naukratis was identified with the nymph Kyrene by Studniczka, on the assumption that the plant in her hand is the silphion.[4] But, as Droop points out,[5] the plant is a conventionalised hybrid, introduced as decoration alone. If the artist wished to represent the silphion, he would surely have rendered this important feature in a more naturalistic way; I agree with Droop's suggestion that the female figure is Artemis Orthia, in the role of vegetation-goddess.

Prometheus and Atlas is probably the subject of the Vatican kylix, Albizzati ii pl. 17,[6] and not Tantalos or Sisyphos with Tityos, as has sometimes been suggested.[7] The representation corresponds so closely with the account of Hesiod that the painter may actually have had the poet's words in mind (*Theogony* 516–17):

> Ἄτλας δ' ουρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
> ἑστηώς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χέρεσσι.

On the vase, the left-hand figure is standing still, ἑστηώς, not pushing or carrying the stone along as Sisyphos would. If he were Tantalos we should expect the stone to be poised over-head instead of resting on his shoulders. In the same passage of Hesiod (*Theogony* 521–2), next to Atlas is Prometheus:

> δῆσε δ' ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι Προμηθέα ποικιλόβουλον
> δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι μέσον διὰ κίον' ἐλάσσας.

Even the pillar is represented on the vase. A kylix fragment in Samos[8] shews a nude male figure, lying on the ground this time, and without traces of bonds; a bird of prey stands on his chest, and blood streams from a wound. A lower frieze on the same fragment represents the hydra story, so probably the scene is mythological and not an ordinary fallen soldier torn by vultures. It is hard to say whether *Prometheus* or *Tityos* is intended.

Trophonios erecting a tholos. This is Boehlau's explanation of the scene

[1] Louvre E 666. Hauser suggests that it represents a cattle-raid in Crete, but it now appears that Lakonian vase-painting had little to do with that island.

[2] *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 7 (text).

[3] *Olympia* V 16; Studniczka *op. cit.* 28 ff. [4] *Op. cit.* 15 ff. [5] *A.O.* 54.

[6] By the Arkesilas Painter, *ca.* 560–50, cf. p. 140 above.

[7] Gerhard, *A.V.* ii 21; Albizzati 66. Atlas was again portrayed by a Lakonian artist when Theokles made his group for the Epidamnian Treasury at Olympia (Paus. vi 19, 8).

[8] *A.M.* 1929, Beil. xvi 1. Second quarter of the sixth century.

on a fragmentary cup from Samos, and it seems more plausible than others which have been put forward.[1] That it shews Apollo, with the fatal diskos which killed Hyakinthos, is out of the question, for the figure is climbing the building; no doubt the object in his hand is an akroterion to surmount the roof.[2] The tholos itself scarcely bears examination from an architectural point of view, but the horned object at the base of the column is worth noticing. It may have been suggested by the stone sockets which supported the wooden columns in the early Orthia-temple,[3] and as the date of the vase falls fairly early in Lakonian III,[4] the picture possibly reflects an event which was actually taking place at Sparta—the erection of the new temple of Orthia.

Zeus Lykaios, seated facing a flying eagle, occurs twice, on cups in the Louvre and at Taranto (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 8; Taranto, our PLATE 37 *b*). The identification is due to Studniczka, who compares the representation on an Arkadian coin.[5]

Zeus and Hermes converse in an animated manner on the Kassel kylix (PLATE 46 *b*). On a fragmentary kylix in Leipzig, *J.H.S.* 1932, 26 fig. 2, Zeus is off to a Gigantomachy, a thunderbolt in his left hand and perhaps a spear in his upraised right. Before him runs Hermes, identified by the curved wing sprouting from his heel; to the right, now lost, were probably the hind parts of a disappearing giant cut off in that congenial manner which stamps the style of the Hunt Painter.[6] The inscription below Hermes runs (retrograde) ƎHA, only the first three letters being legible; I have no idea what it means.

Zeus and Hera face each other in lively conversation on the Munich cup, Sieveking-Hackl. pl. 13 no. 384; their excitement is due to Hera's inability to rise from her seat.[7] I have heard this picture explained as a scene in school, but if that were so the pupil would be naked or wearing a short chiton.[8]

The Return of Hephaistos on the Rhodes cup (*C.V.A.* i, III D, pl. 1) is later than the Corinthian examples quoted by Payne (*NC.* 142 and fig. 44 G) but still belongs to the first quarter of the sixth century.

Artemis Orthia, according to Droop, is shewn on the British Museum

[1] Boehlau *Nekropolen* Pl. x 4 and p. 128. Daidalos at work on the labyrinth (Hauser in *Ö. Jh.* 1907, 10); Apollo with the diskos (Mrs. J. M. Woodward in *J.H.S.* 1932, 40). The round object is in any case too large for a diskos.

[2] Compare the well-known disc-akroteria *Olympia* ii 190 ff. fig. 3; *A.O.* 118 ff.; and on the cup, *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 12, 2.

[3] See *A.O.* 11.

[4] P. 137.

[5] Studniczka *op. cit.* 14, where also is explained the altar upon which Zeus sits.

[6] See p. 143.

[7] See *J.H.S.* 1932, 38.

[8] The left-hand figure is not necessarily male because of its black-figure technique; compare Würzburg *Katalog* no. 166 pl. 28.

kylix from Naukratis (Studniczka *op. cit.* 18).[1] To judge from the branch in her hand, she is conceived as a vegetation goddess, and her winged attendants might represent the winds. During the eighth and seventh centuries she is constantly treated as a ποτνία θηρῶν with wings; now she is completely humanized, but wings are still worn by her attendants. Perhaps the sherd *A.O.* fig. 78 *b* is a belated instance of the ποτνία θηρῶν treatment dating from the last years of the fabric.

The Winged Daemons which appear on so many Lakonian vases are peculiar phenomena which can be more easily accepted than explained. Sometimes they are purely decorative (Munich, Sieveking-Hackl no. 382, pl. 13; *A.O.* pl. IX, with wings on heels alone); usually they take a lively interest in events which would happen equally well without their assistance. At the banquet, they bestow wreaths on the diner (PLATE 42 *b*) or guide the cup to his mouth (PLATE 48 *a*); they chase the young rider with a wreath (PLATE 45 *b*) or fly before his horse (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 4, 3). Artemis is attended by a swarm of them on the British Museum cup,[2] and here the bearded ones at least are male, as are those on the Louvre banquet kylix. They first appear on vases during the second quarter of the sixth century,[3] without any parallels in the other branches of Lakonian art as represented by the finds at Sparta,[4] and curiously enough, only on vases which can be connected with the Naukratis and Rider Painters. It is clear that these creatures have no personality of their own, and indeed they seem invisible to the human beings they attend. What is this supernatural aura with which the painter surrounds his figures? Weicker detects a funereal meaning,[5] and explains the winged creatures as spirits of the underworld ministering to the dead. This would be plausible if we had only the Louvre banquet cup [6] to consider, but on the Taranto cup (PLATE 48 *a*), where the winged daemon again guides the drinker, there are irreverent padded dancers present and the solemn atmosphere is rent. Then on the Rider cup, PLATE 45 *b*, the young man receives a wreath—therefore he has won his race, and what should that be but the horse-race at Olympia ? [7] On the companion cup in the Louvre [8] the contest has not yet begun, but the friendly daemon flies before to set the pace. In my opinion these

[1] Ducati explains her as Persephone among the shades (*Rend. d. Lincei* 1911, 142 ff.).

[2] Studniczka *op. cit.* 18.

[3] The earlier winged figure on *A.O.* pl. VII evidently belongs to a different class; instead of drifting vaguely about in the air he takes a vital part in the scene. Perhaps this is an early version of the Phineus story, but the vase is far too fragmentary for any certain conclusion to be drawn.

[4] With the possible exception of a lead figurine, *A.O.* fig. 122 *h*.

[5] *Der Seelenvogel* 14–16.

[6] PLATE 42 *b* and *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 11. See p. 159.

[7] Cf. the Sicilian coins of the fifth century with Nike attending a chariot. Olympia is probable in view of the long run of Spartan successes there.

[8] *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 10, pl. 4, 3.

winged beings are δαιμόνες in the true Homeric sense, personifying the incalculable element that surrounds all human activity; here they are benevolent and general εὐδαιμονία is the result.

Unexplained Figure Subjects. On the Rhodes kylix (*C.V.A.* i, III D, pl. 1), Hephaistos' Return is balanced by a second picture of equal size; a male figure, in short chiton, holds a lion [1] by the halter. I would suggest two alternative explanations of the subject. First, that the male figure is Dionysos, which is probable, since he is also shewn on the other side with Hephaistos. In Samos there was a shrine of Dionysos κεχηνώς, the story being that a Samian named Elpis, in peril from a gaping lion (κεχηνότος λεόντος) in Libya, vowed a temple to Dionysos if he returned home alive.[2] This came to pass, the temple was built, and the adjective was transferred from the lion to the god. Aelian's text where he mentions the cult statue is corrupt, and it is uncertain whether Dionysos was represented with a lion's head or, as is more likely, grouped with a lion. There would be nothing strange in the reference to a Samian cult on a vase made at Sparta.[3] Alternatively, the figure is Admetos, who had to yoke a lion and a boar to his chariot as the condition of his marriage with Alkestis.[4] The subject was carved later by Bathykles on the throne at Amyklai [5]; if this is an earlier version, Admetos is shewn catching his lion and the chariot is omitted in the allusive manner forced on Lakonian kylix painters tried to compress a large subject into a limited space.

The youth between two winged horses on PLATE 41 *c* has been explained as *Pelops*,[6] but it is more likely that the picture is a purely decorative composition of a kind which was common in the early sixth century.[7]

ANIMALS.

Sixth-century Lakonian animals are usually derived from Corinthian, but the stylisations are simplified and the rhythmic movement is lost in a series of staccato groups. Lions and cocks crouch, and goats kneel, to keep their heads inside the frieze, instead of passing in dignified procession.

The *Lion* on PLATE 38 *b* is very close to a Middle Corinthian variety

[1] The view expressed in *J.H.S.* 1932, 31, that the artist's ignorance led him to draw a one-headed lion instead of a three-headed dog, appears rather uncharitable.

[2] Aelian, N.A. vii 48; Callimachus Ep. 48; Polemo fr. 71; Pliny viii 58. Cf. Pesce *Boll. d'Arte* 1935, 233.

[3] In view of the close relations between the two places (see p. 179).

[4] Apollod. i, 9, 14; Hyginus frs. 50, 51; Schol. on Eurip. Alkestis 254, where Apollo is said to have done the work for Admetos.

[5] Paus. iii 18, 16.

[6] In *B.M. Vases* ii 49. In *J.H.S.* 1932, 30 this view is dismissed in favour of one more far-fetched, namely that the figure represents Diomedes.

[7] Compare *NC.* pl. 51, 3; pl. 53, 7 and *R.A.* 1928, 61, fig. 8 (Attic).

like *NC.* pl. 30, 8.[1] A heraldic group of seated lions with heads reversed is found on a krater fragment in Samos and our PLATE 38 *a*, but usually they crouch or recline. The cross-hatched mane which is common on Early Corinthian lions is never found in Lakonian ; in their place, however, appear local idiosyncrasies like the hanging mane under the chest of FIG. 16 and the bud which often tips the tail.[2] The staring *panther*[3] was never so popular as at Corinth, whence it was derived.

Boars,[4] *bulls*,[5] *stags* and *rams* are rare on the later Middle Corinthian vases, so it is not surprising that none of the Lakonian fragments from above the sand at Orthia shew them. *Goats*, always kneeling, persist to the end of the fabric, and have the smooth recurved horns found in Corinthian;[6] *horses* first appear on the kylikes of the Hephaistos Painter, early in the sixth century;[7] somewhat later are those on PLATES 38 *a*, 39 *b*, which shew the foreleg bent in walking—a refinement first introduced at Corinth in the ' Middle ' period.[8] The horses by the Rider Painter[9] are mere caricatures in comparison and are true products of the decline. Galloping horses on Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. IV, 4, and our PLATE 39 *c*; winged horses on PLATE 41 *c* and *A.A.* 1924, 79 fig. 16; facing horses, *A.O.* fig. 78 A.[10]

Dogs are always coursing, and perhaps represent the famous Molossian hounds or the ἀλωπεκίδες;[11] in one case their quarry seems to be a *fox*.[12] A *monkey* is seen on the Arkesilas kylix and *A.O.* pl. IX, and two bronze handles found at Sparta[13] show a monkey eating a fruit. Perhaps commerce with Kyrene had made this animal familiar at Sparta; it occurs at Corinth only once, on a pinax (*NC.* 77).

Lizards[14] as filling ornament echo a similar use at Corinth, and once

[1] The same formula for the eye is found on the kylix *C.V.A. Rhodes* i, III D pl. I, and can be traced back through Middle and Early Corinthian to Assyria (*NC.* 68, fig. 14 A).

[2] PLATE 38 *a* and Morin-Jean fig. 128, 9.

[3] PLATE 38 *a*, *f*.

[4] *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* (late seventh century), and charging heraldic boars on the spouted pot from Samos, p. 136. The boar hunt is a popular subject with the Hunt Painter (p. 157).

[5] *A.O.* fig. 50 *b* and on the kylix *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 3, 7.

[6] The East-Greek type, with simple, knobbed horns, is found on one seventh-century fragment, PLATE 26 *a*.

[7] PLATE 36, *f*, *g*. Fragments in Samos from a krater of similar style have a frieze of horses walking with bent knees.

[8] *NC.* 72.

[9] PLATE 45 *b*, *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III D, pl. 3, 4.

[10] Lakonian IV; for other Peloponnesian examples see *NC.* 74.

[11] Keller *Antike Tierwelt* i 222. See PLATE 35 *a*, *b*.

[12] PLATE 35 *b*, indicated by the shaggy coat.

[13] One shewn on PLATE 41 *e*; compare the East Greek monkey, Maximova *Les vases plastiques* p. 115 and pl. xiv 57.

[14] On the Arkesilas kylix and *A.O.* fig. 74.

a *frog* [1] appears; a *centipede* is found on a vase in Samos and an *ant* and a *snail* crawl round the centre of the kylix on PLATE 40. *Dolphins* and *fish* on PLATES 30, 32 *a*, 41 *a*, Munich 385 and fragments in Leipzig, *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 22, 1.

Birds are commonly used as filling ornament, without insistence on the peculiarities of any particular species; [2] there is, however, a tendency to scratch lines across the neck.[3] Round the hydria PLATE 43 runs a continuous frieze of ungainly fowl which might pass for turkeys, if the date were not premature for their appearance in Europe. The large, hanging wattle is a deformity found in a kind of vultures with which the painter may have been acquainted.

The *Cocks* on PLATE 40, with cross-hatched necks and a purple bar on the upper wing, are nearer to the Corinthian [4] than to the canonic Lakonian type; in the latter the neck is purple, an incised ruff hides the shoulder, and the wing-feathers are divided into vertical bands.[5] Lakonian cocks have longer bodies than the Corinthian and seldom strut with the same proud curve of breast. The wing droops in a long, straight line from shoulder to tip. This naturalistic cock, so different from the stylised Corinthian, was common in Attica and the Eastern Aegean,[6] though most of the known examples are later than the earliest ones on Lakonian vases. The sculptured cocks from Olympia [7] were attributed to the 'Kyrenaic' Treasury purely on account of their resemblance to cocks on the vases then thought to have been made at Kyrene; they may be by an artist from the same circle, perhaps even by a Lakonian, but the 'Byzantine' Treasury cocks are similar, and the most that can be said for certain is that all represent an Ionic rather than a North Peloponnesian type.

MYTHICAL CREATURES.

Gorgoneion. In the seventh century the gorgoneion is rare at Sparta, but known examples follow three distinct types. First, the four-sided

[1] On the vase in Samos mentioned on p. 136.

[2] But on *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 12 3 and our PLATE 37 *b* a *flying eagle*; on PLATE 39 *b* a *heron*; on *C.V.A. Rhodes* i, III D, pl. 1 and *A.O.* fig. 47 *o*, an *owl*; on the Arkesilas kylix a *stork* or *marabu*. PLATE 37 *c* is a plastic vase in the form of the Mediterranean *partridge* which occurs on 'Fikellura' and 'Pontic' vases.

[3] PLATE 45 *b*, *A.O.* fig. 59 *h*, *m*. [4] Compare *NC.* fig. 20; pl. 17, 4; pl. 36, 12.

[5] There is evidently no development corresponding to that found in Corinthian (*NC.* figs. 20, 21). The earliest example (*A.O.* fig. 47 *f*) is in essentials the same bird as all the later ones.

[6] Attic examples: Thiersch *Tyrrhenische Vasen* 106 fig. 16, Morin-Jean 163 fig. 190; 'kleinmeister' cups, Morin-Jean fig. 209, 'Droop cups' *J.H.S.* 1932 pl. II, 21, 24. The superb bronze cock from the Athenian Akropolis (Zervos *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 235) is probably local work. East-Greek: *Olympia* iii 23, fig. 21 (Byzantine Treasury), compare with Morin-Jean fig. 124 (Louvre dinos); *Brit. Mus. Sculpture* 139, fig. 183 (Xanthos frieze). Islands; Jacobsthal *Melische Reliefs* pl. 67. [7] *Olympia* iii 20–23, iv pl. 4, 4.

seal, *A.O.* pl. CXXXIX *l*, *o*; here the eyes are pushed to the top of the face, their lower lids forming a straight edge to a lunette-shaped forehead. A closely similar treatment is seen in the gorgoneion used as a shield-device on a 'Melian' vase,[1] and it is not unlikely that the seal itself is a Cycladic importation.

The second type is represented by the bone seal *A.O.* pl. CXLI, 3, the ivory seal *A.O.* pl. CXLV, 2, and the clay gorgoneion in low relief from the side of a pyxis, PLATE 31 *b*.[2] The tall face, straight brow, and rounded chin at once suggest comparison with the gorgon on a 'Rhodian' plate,[3] and the type may have been adopted from East Greece. The clay gorgoneion (relief) has a small pointed beard, pointed ears like those of a mule, and horns; tusks curl fearsomely upwards across the cheeks and the eyes are turned towards the left. The fringe of spiral locks over the brow is like that on Protocorinthian gorgoneia,[4] and our specimen probably belongs to the thirties of the seventh century.

The third type, which is shewn by the lead reliefs *A.O.* pls. CLXXX 31, CLXXXVI 22, and the clay tab on our PLATE 31 *d*,[5] has a very broad, low face and a distended mouth, and belongs to the mainland species found on Protocorinthian vases (*NC.* fig. 23 A–C). A gorgon with a lion's body, on the ivory fibula *A.O.* pl. CII 1, is related to Early Corinthian and may be dated in the last quarter of the seventh century. From now on Lakonian gorgoneia are constructed in the same logical manner as the Corinthian ones, the face being divided into several complementary areas in which each feature forms an organic part of the whole scheme. The examples are hardly numerous enough to enable us to trace the development of the series, but early specimens like PLATE 29, *A.O.* pl. VII have a low, level forehead which tends later to arch upwards, admitting some sort of triangular motive to fill the space between the eyebrows (PLATES 37 *a*, 38 *h*, 44 *a*). The gorgoneia commonly found inside the foot-ring under Lakonian III plates[6] are for the most part carelessly drawn and tame in expression, but the humanising process noted by Payne[7] in Corinthian examples is not inevitably echoed at Sparta, to judge from the fierce gorgoneion on PLATE 44 *a*, which on other grounds must be dated about 550 or later.[8] Snakes growing from the hair, or as a corona running

[1] Conze *Melische Thongefässe* pl. iii.

[2] See p. 126.

[3] Buschor *Greek Vase-Painting* fig. 59.

[4] *NC.* fig. 23 A–C.

[5] This may have stood up from the rim of a vase, but there are no traces of slip or painting to support the suggestion. Note the horns.

[6] *A.O.* figs. 59 *t*, *u*; 60 *u*; 72 *u*, *cc*; *B.S.A.* xxviii 67 fig. 11 *a*.

[7] *NC.* p. 84.

[8] See p. 146. In this particular gorgoneion, a late-looking feature is the treatment of the snakes in the hair—stylised almost beyond recognition.

completely round the head, are first found about 600 B.C. (PLATE 32 *a*; [1] PLATE 37 *a* and *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i, pl. 23, 1–3, about 590–80).

Full-length gorgons are rare, the only instances being on the ivory plaque *A.O.* pl. CVI, 1 and the clay running gorgon from a lakaina handle, *A.O.* pl. VIII. The first of these is dated by stratification to the seventh century,[2] and if the gorgon with a long chiton is an Ionic type, it is interesting to find one of this date with snakes in its hair.[3]

The *sphinx* is easily the most popular of the fantastic animals.[4] *Sirens* occur fairly often,[5] *centaurs*,[6] *Typhon*,[7] and a *chimaera* [8] once each. The *griffon*,[9] the *griffon-bird*,[10] the *panther-bird*,[11] and the *winged horse* [12] make up the remainder.

PLANT ORNAMENT.

Grand floral complexes, which played so prominent a part in the decoration of Corinthian and Chalkidian vases, are rare in Lakonian. The preference is for simple, recurring motives arranged in narrow friezes. With these I shall deal individually.

Pomegranate. In the seventh century a naturalistic form with stamens is occasionally found,[13] but for small vases the simplified version (FIG. 21, 1) is regularly used and occurs as late as the Samos vase mentioned on p. 136. Not until the kylikes of the Hephaistos Group, *ca.* 590–75, do we find the more advanced forms FIG. 21, 2–4; from then onwards the fruit has three or more stamens, usually a cross-bar, and in most cases appears linked as a continuous frieze. Generally speaking, long and carelessly drawn

[1] Probably the face would be upside-down in the photograph, the pointed thing with saw-like teeth representing the lower part of the beard.

[2] *A.O.* 211–12.

[3] Cf. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon* for Ionic gorgons; *NC.* 86 for the suggestion that the snakes were first introduced by Corinthian artists.

[4] In the seventh century sphinxes do not occur on vases, with the possible exception of PLATE 28 *d*, but they are common in other materials and adopt a considerable variety of poses (cf. *A.O.* pls. CLXXIV, CLXXXVII for specimens in lead). A polos was usually worn, and is still seen on the sixth-century bronze in *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. xi 8, but sphinxes on vase-paintings have their heads bare or decorated with a sprouting 'anthemion.' Examples: *AO.* pl. VIII, our PLATES 44, 45 *a*—the monotonous seated pose is never varied.

[5] PLATE 42 *b*, FIG. 17. *A.O.* figs. 61 A, 62 A. The first is the only one with hands.

[6] On the Louvre deinos, PLATE 42 *a* and *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pls. 7, 8. Both types, with human, and with equine forelegs are shewn.

[7] On the kylix fragment PLATE 38 *g*. The creature may have a double snake tail, like the figures on Corinthian and Chalkidian vases (*NC.* 77), but it looks as if two snakes are branching sideways from the belt of an ordinary human male figure. In that case the interpretation is indeed difficult.

[8] Heidelberg kylix, *J.d.I.* 1901, 193.

[9] *A.O.* fig. 64 A, B.

[10] PLATE 38 *a*; *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. vii; *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 5, etc.

[11] PLATE 29, with a long, hairy neck.

[12] PLATE 41 *c*; *A.A.* 1923–4, 80, figs. 18, 19.

[13] *A.O.* fig. 41 *e*.

stamens indicate a date near the mid-century or later. The pomegranate net, Fig. 21, 9, is common on Corinthian, whence it was perhaps borrowed; in Lakonian it is confined to the second quarter-century. Fig. 21, 10 is only found on the British Museum hydria [1] and the Etruscan imitation, Boston 551.[2]

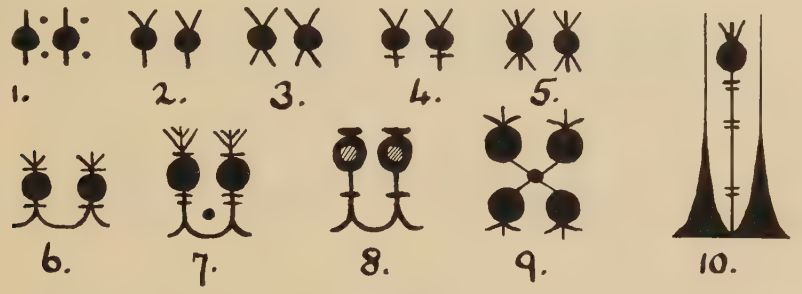

Fig. 21.—Pomegranate Types.

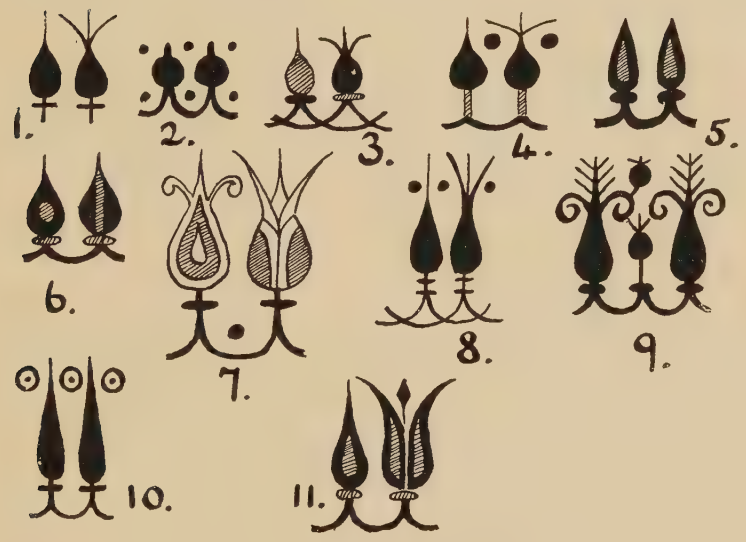

Fig. 22.—Types of Bud Frieze.

Bud Frieze. Not found before about 590. The plump forms Fig. 22, 1–3 are those contemporary with the Hephaistos Painter. Sherds from immediately above the sand shew a liking for added purple details (Fig. 22, 4–6) but without incision. Fig. 22, 7, with purple and incision, is found on the Louvre volute-krater E 661 and its companion hydria; after the mid-century the buds are more attenuated (Fig. 22, 8, 10).

[1] Plate 43.

[2] Fairbanks *Catalogue* pl. lxi.

Fig. 22, 9 is a unique elaboration from the New York cup by the Rider Painter,[1] *ca.* 550–40, and 11 (= *B.S.A.* xxviii 71 fig. 13 *a*) seems to suggest in adaptation from East Greece. Droop rightly regards it as a transitional piece from Lakonian II, date about 590.

Myrtle Wreath. East-Greek cups vaguely datable to the early sixth century (cf. Munich, Sieveking-Hackl pl. 17) may have supplied a model, but there the leaves are much fuller than on Lakonian and the bough is always black. About 590 the wreath begins to replace the ' dot and square ' as a lip pattern, with a purple bough and no stems (Fig. 23, 1). This and the form Fig. 23, 3 are found just above the sand, but by the time of the Arkesilas Painter (570 onwards) the bough is black and stems are drawn in (Fig. 23, 2, and 7, from the Louvre cup *C.V.A.* i, III Dc, pl. 5, by the Naukratis Painter, with pomegranates along one side). As the third

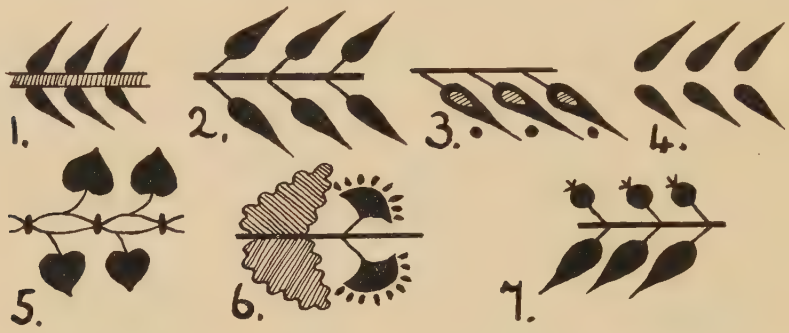

Fig. 23.—Myrtle and Ivy Wreath Patterns.

quarter-century advanced, increasing carelessness led to the omission of the bough, and often only a single row of leaves is found (Fig. 23, 4, and see p. 153). Fig. 23, 5 (*A.O.* fig. 75 *c*), the *ivy wreath*, is used on the handle band of kylikes, probably after the mid-century; Fig. 23, 6 is a unique ornament from a Perachora sherd, which I cannot date.

Palmette. Save for isolated examples [2] the palmette does not appear on vases till about 590 onwards, and if we can judge from the Samos pot mentioned on p. 136, its earliest application was in plastic form where a handle joined the body.[3] This was imitated from metal vases, and soon the clay relief was translated into paint on the handles of the Hephaistos Group kylikes. Fig. 24 shews the successive stages: 1–4 on the Hephaistos Group cups (*ca.* 590–75), 5–9 on vases of the second quarter-century, leaving out the triangular member so suggestive of the metal prototypes. 10 is a very debased form found on cups by the Rider Painter; its place

[1] *A.J.A.* 1922 pl. iv.
[2] Plate 25 *d* and *A.O.* fig. 42 a, c.
[3] Examples from above the sand at Orthia, *A.O.* fig. 65.

is in the third quarter-century.[1] Apart from the handle, palmettes are used alternately with lotuses in a frieze (*A.O.* fig. 60 *h*), as part of a floral complex, or as isolated filling ornament. *A.O.* fig. 50 *c* is a unique example of its use, enclosed, and alternately reversed, as a frieze; doubly curious

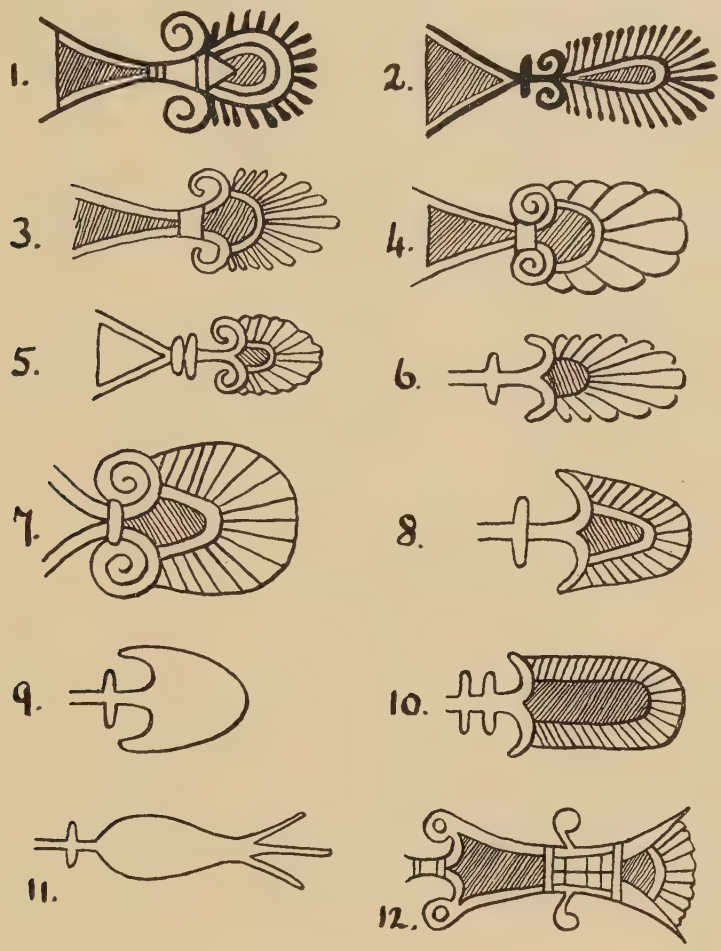

FIG. 24.—PALMETTES.

owing to the technique of slip reserved against a purple ground. I date the vase near the Castellani krater, about 580–570.

Lotus. The earliest is from the Hephaistos Group lakaina, *A.O.* pl. VIII, date about 590–85. The shoulders of the calyx are square, as on

[1] A lotus bud sometimes takes the place of a handle-palmette, cf. *A.O.* pl. X (second quarter of the sixth century).

Corinthian vases, from which the motive was certainly derived.[1] On the Castellani volute krater (Mingazzini pl. lii), huge lotuses and palmettes, alternately reversed, form a frieze; this scheme came from the same source,[2] and may be compared with the treatment of palmettes on *A.O.* fig. 50 *c*. In the second quarter-century, lotuses are used alternating with buds or palmettes as a frieze (Munich, Sieveking-Hackl p. 34, fig. 48; *A.O.* fig. 60 *h*); in two cases they take the place of handle palmettes on a kylix (*C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 5; *R.A.* 1907, i, 407 fig. 19).

FLORAL COMPLEXES.

1. The *lotus and palmette* (Fig. 25 A) is the basis of nearly all Lakonian floral complexes. When a square space was to be filled, say dividing

Fig. 25.—Lotus and Palmette Complexes.
A. From Banquet Kylix, Louvre E 667.
B. From Volute-Krater, Louvre E 661.

heraldic animals, it would appear unmodified[3]; for a rectangular space in a frieze, the two pairs of tendrils on each side touch and bend back to admit a palmette.[4] Palmettes are used to fill odd corners. This ornament was used during the second quarter of the century, but after 550 the painters were usually too careless to attempt it.[5] Note that the side tendrils never *cross*, as in Corinthian[6] or Attic.[7] The lower tendril, which branches so inorganically from each side of the calyx, is a relict left after the lotus-palmette was cut out of the frieze where it first made its appearance in Protocorinthian—a glance at *NC.* pl. 27, top right, will shew what I mean.

A third position for a floral complex was the exergue on a kylix; the simple palmette, with tendrils branching from base alone, was used. In the developed period, 575–50, it might be tricked out with buds and

[1] *NC.* 145. [2] *NC.* 153. [3] Cf. *A.O.* fig. 64 A.
[4] *C.V.A. Louvre* i, III Dc, pl. 5 and pl. 6, 2 (krater).
[5] *A.O.* fig. 61 is an example of what could happen to a simple lotus and palmette if they did.
[6] *NC.* 149 fig. 55. [7] *NC.* pl. 52, 1.

palmettes,[1] but after the mid-century it shews increasing signs of slovenliness and decay.[2]

2. In at least three cases we have *floral complexes* used to fill the tondo of a kylix, instead of the more usual rosette with concentric friezes. *J.H.S.* 1910, 13 fig. 5, is not a very happy composition, but an interesting point is the form of the lotus-flowers. These have no separate square-shouldered calyx, as do most Lakonian lotuses; they are of the East-Greek type found on oinochoai in the 'wild-goat' style. About this time, 590–80, Sparta was in close touch with Samos, as is proved by finds in that island. *B.S.A.* xxviii 69 fig. 12 *b* shews a later kylix, dating about 580–75. The conjectural restoration of the centre is unsatisfactory, but in any case the general effect must have been extremely confused. Floral ornament was a new toy, and the artist has let his imagination run riot with no regard for logical design. This freak apparently had no successors. PLATE 42 *b*[3] shews a more sober treatment, lotus and palmettes with entwining tendrils, but it is not beautiful, and no doubt Lakonian artists felt that they could not do this kind of thing well; hence they rarely attempted it.

Filling Ornament. Down to about 590 a distaste for plant decoration of any kind results in a comparative absence of the filling ornament common on other seventh-century wares.[4] After that, an occasional incised rosette appears, like some stigma of Corinthian influence, but never plays a vital part in the general effect. On the Hephaistos Painter cups there is no filling; on the fragments found just above the sand the leaf-rosette is frequent, and the spiked wreath of PLATE 38 *a* is found also on a Corinthian aryballos of the 'Lion group' from Orthia,[5] which should be contemporary. Quite early, there is a tendency to replace the incised rosette by a plain ring,[6] though the incised form is found as late as the Cassel kylix (see our PLATE 46 *b*, date about 530). Small palmettes (cf. *A.J.A.* 1916 pl. XI) are a form of filling peculiar to Lakonia. In general, Lakonian potters preferred an animate object to a plant, and used animals for filling; on the Arkesilas cup we have birds, a monkey, and a lizard (see also *A.O.* fig. 74); snakes appear on the Vatican Prometheus, the Louvre 'Kadmos,'[7] and the Bibliothèque Nationale Polyphemos, while the birds on cups by the Rider Painter multiply into hosts.

[1] Brussels cup, Richter *Ancient Furniture* fig. 181. [2] *A.Z.* 1881 pl. 13, 2.

[3] Louvre E 667, by the Naukratis Painter (p. 139). The restored centre is probably correct in detail.

[4] But stalk-rosette on PLATE 27 *c* (Lak. I); swastikas on *A.O.* fig. 50 B; lozenge, PLATE 27 *j*; spiral and swastika, PLATE 29.

[5] Like *NC.* 309, with warriors.

[6] This cannot represent a cup, as Rumpf suggests (*A.A.* 1924, 86); if it were, there would be handles as on Louvre E 667 (our PLATE 42 *b*). And often a cup would, in the context, be quite inappropriate.

[7] Probably not Kadmos, but Achilles (see p. 164).

Distribution and Dating.

The remarkably wide distribution of Lakonian vases has been used as an argument that only a maritime state could have been the centre of their manufacture; of that more later. Fragments of definitely seventh-century character were found, outside the Peloponnese, at Caere, Rheneia, and Samos, but export did not start on a large scale till the beginning of the sixth century. I shall deal with the several districts individually.

Peloponnese (excluding Lakonia).

Examples were found at Tegea,[1] Bassae,[2] Olympia,[3] Argos,[4] Corinth [5] and Sikyon.[6]

Central Greece.

Aegina,[7] Attica,[8] Boeotia,[9] isolated examples; more from Delphi.[10] Several sixth-century sherds were found at Perachora.

Greek Islands.

Delos produced a few sherds, unfigured, and several aryballoi.[11] Only one piece comes from Crete, the volute-krater *B.S.A.* xxxi 107 fig. 34, from Eleutherna.[12]

For Lakonian finds in Lesbos see *B.S.A.* xxxii 59.

Samos imported more Lakonian vases than any other foreign state: Boehlau's excavation of the necropolis produced a high proportion; I noted fragments of about 70 different pots at the Heraeum in 1934, and Professor Buschor tells me that more have since been found. Evidently no tomb evidence is available for dating, but most of the sherds from

[1] Some late Geometric fragments, like our Plate 21 *b*, and one fragment, recently found at Episkopi, of a Lakonian III kylix.

[2] Ἐφημ. 1910, 293–5.

[3] *Olympia* iv 202, and the Berlin cup from Atalanti.

[4] *Argive Heraeum* ii pls. lx 16, lxii 3–6; pp. 173–4; our Plate 26 *e*. I could not find anything like 50 fragments in the store-rooms at Athens; most of the sherds are from late Lakonian III kylikes of poor quality.

[5] *J.H.S.* 1908, 178 fig. 3.

[6] Brit. Mus. B 3 (Plate 46 *a*).

[7] Furtwängler *Aegina* 457 no. 246, and fragments from column-kraters in the museum.

[8] Graef *Akropolisvasen* no. 468. The siren cup (Fig. 17) is thought to have come from Attica.

[9] Heidelberg Chimaera, *J.d.I.* 1901, 193; a sherd from Haliartos, *B.S.A.* xxxii 192, and aryballoi from Rhitsona, *e.g.*, p. 153.

[10] *Fouilles de Delphes* v, 145–6 fig. 601.

[11] Aryballoi, *Délos* x nos. 584–8 (there called Attic); sherds, *Délos* xvii, pl. xiii, 1–3.

[12] A small ivory at Candia, from Tylissos, is very like *A.O.* pl. CXXIII 1 and may be Lakonian. There is a corresponding dearth of certainly Cretan objects from Lakonia; I have already given my reasons for supposing that the pyxis, *B.S.A.* xxviii pl. VI is local (p. 119).

the Heraeum were in a mixed stratum of earth imported from elsewhere to level the ground south of the great altar when this was rebuilt by Rhoikos. The earliest fragment bears a Lakonian I lion and there are one or two other pieces which might be of seventh-century date, but the great majority belong to the Hephaistos Painter group and the immediately succeeding stage of Lakonian III, with rich floral ornament. It is to be noted that slip is often partially omitted, and there are fragments of several column-kraters, and of one volute-krater like that from Eleutherna. The provisional date for the building of the Rhoikos altar is about 540, and this suggests that column-kraters and the omission of slip were in common use before then. Besides vases, two Lakonian bronze figures were found; one a walking hoplite with a shield,[1] the fellow of the painted hoplites on *A.O.* pl. c, the other a clumsy lion couchant bearing an inscription recording its dedication to Hera by Eumnastos, a Spartiate.

The extraordinarily high proportion of Lakonian vases from Samos, far outnumbering the commoner and more easily obtainable Corinthian, points to a relationship between her and Sparta which cannot be explained on purely commercial grounds. The fashion for things Lakonian almost amounted to a cult. Racial affinities were out of the question; the true basis of the connection was probably to be found in the admiration which the Samian aristocracy felt for the Spartan πολιτεία. Sparta took a reciprocal interest in Samian politics, for when Polykrates sent a batch of dangerous and unwanted citizens to help Cambyses, in the hope that they would not come back, the latter had small difficulty in persuading the Lakedaimonians to assist their return to Samos.[2] The unprecedented phenomenon of a Spartan naval expedition needs a better explanation than either of the two proposed by Herodotus.[3] Polykrates had shewn signs of making his personal peace with the Persian, when he sent aid to Cambyses for the latter's expedition against Amasis. In view of such instability, Sparta perhaps felt that it was better to have a government in Samos which she could trust, composed of her aristocratic friends. Even during the siege, the philo-Spartan sentiment inside the city found expression in the public honours given to Archias, a Spartiate hero who was killed in the assault, and at Sparta the grandson of Archias carried the amicable tradition down to Herodotus' own day.

Rhodes has provided us with three tomb-groups to help in dating. The

[1] The hoplite is illustrated in *J.H.S.* 1933, 289, fig. 15. Compare Zervos *L'Art en Grèce* fig. 218. The lion is mentioned in *A.A.* 1926, 436. It is possible that a third bronze, the mirror-support in Buschor *Altsamische Standbilder* pls. 115–117, is also Lakonian (Kunze *A.M.* 1934, 99; Jenkins *B.S.A.* xxxiii 77).

[2] Her. iii 44 ff.

[3] Her. iii 47. One frivolous: that the Samians had confiscated a brazen bowl on its way from Sparta to Croesus. The other romantic, and based on a questionable legend: that Samos had sent help to Sparta in the Messenian War and Sparta was still grateful.

earliest is Papatislures II (*Cl. Rh.* vi); the large Corinthian alabastron, no. 1, belongs to Payne's Middle Period,[1] *ca.* 600–575, and the finding of a cup with 'Lakonian II' decoration bears out the evidence from Taranto that this style overlapped into the sixth century. The Hephaistos kylix was found at Ialysos in grave 88 (*Cl. Rh.* iii 121), with an oinochoe styled by Dr. Jacopi as 'rodia, della decadenza.' But the latter is made of Corinthian clay, and corresponds to *NC.* fig. 10 E (Middle Corinthian), so that the Hephaistos kylix and the group [2] to which it belongs can be placed in the first quarter of the sixth century. In grave 185 at Ialysos (*Cl. Rh.* iii 194, fig. 193; the Attic amphora belongs to grave 253), a Lakonian column-krater was found with a low-footed, lipless kylix whose style suggests the third quarter of the sixth century. These kraters were probably manufactured over a long period, and the grave-group does not necessarily disprove my view that the earlier examples date well back into the second quarter (p. 149). Other kraters were found in Rhodes (*Fouilles de Lindos* ii 291–4); a Lakonian II cup in Berlin, no. 1647,[3] the hydria mentioned on p. 143, and a number of aryballoi complete the total at present known,[4] though there will certainly be others.

Asia Minor.

From Ephesus there are two fragments from Lakonian II cups with convex lip (now in the British Museum).

At Sardis the sphinx cup described on p. 151 was found in a grave group suggesting a date about 540.

From Gordion comes a Lakonian III kylix fragment (Körte, *J.d.I. Erg.* v 186 fig. 176).

Africa.

Naukratis provides a good collection; the earliest is Lakonian II (PLATE 31 *c*);[5] many Hephaistos Group fragments, nothing apparently later than Lakonian III.

Kyrene produced a disappointingly small amount of any kind of pottery. The sherds mentioned by Hoppin, *Bull. Arch. Inst.* 1910–11, 141, have evidently disappeared. *Africa Italiana* 1931, pl. ii, shews later finds.[6]

Carthage. Two lakainai, early sixth century (*R.A.* xxvii, 55–6).

[1] *NC.* 303.

[2] See p. 130.

[3] Shape like the Taranto fish-cups (PLATE 31 *e*), decoration like the cup from Papatislures grave II, *Cl. Rh.* vi.

[4] It should be remembered that in *Clara Rhodos* the Attic 'Droop cups' are often called Lakonian or Kyrenaic.

[5] Lip fragments from two cups. The decoration is unusual, but the fabric is evidently Lakonian.

[6] Cf. Beazley *Metr. Mus. Stud.* v 102 n. 3.

Daphnai. The sherd *Tanis* ii pl. xxxii 3 is not Lakonian; it comes from the shoulder of a Fikellura amphora.[1]

South Italy.

Taranto. There were five grave-groups with Corinthian vases and no Lakonian pieces are earlier than 600 B.C.:

1. The three cups, p. 128 and PLATE 30 [2] were found with four pairs of kotylai, one alabastron, and one pair of amphoriskoi, all to be dated early in the Middle Corinthian period [3] (Grave 285).
2. A cup of similar shape, but decorated as Munich 380 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13), was with two amphoriskoi [4] and a round aryballos decorated with carelessly drawn hoplites bearing shields (Grave C.D. 35).
3. A lakaina like *A.O.* fig. 70 *b*, was with a large kotyle and a large, flat-bottomed aryballos [5] (Grave 182).
4. The 'pseudo-kantharos' (PLATE 34 *a*, p. 126) was with a pair of large kotylai, 3 small kotylai, 2 cups with careless birds, an amphoriskos, a ring-vase, a tripod pyxis, and a globular pyxis [6] (Grave 5 *bis*, Contrada Vaccarella 1922).
5. The Zeus kylix (PLATE 37 *b*, p. 137) was with a large flat-bottomed aryballos (Grave 159 [7]).

Other Lakonian vases from Taranto, not in tomb-groups, are the kylix PLATES 47, 48, p. 153; the Kyrene kylix F.R. iii, 212; a kylix of 'Droop-cup' shape varnished black inside, and a number of aryballoi.[8] It is surprising that none of the Lakonian pottery is earlier than the sixth century, and perhaps the chances of excavation are responsible. If seventh-century fragments were found at Caere we should naturally expect them from the only Lakonian colony in the West.

Reggio. One column krater, very large and entirely black, from the

[1] And is therefore useless for dating the Lakonian series. See *A.O.* 109 and here p. 32 no. P 17 and PLATE 17 *d*.

[2] See *R.A.* 1912, ii, 91 no. 111, for the third, not illustrated here.

[3] Quagliati *R. Museo Nazionale di Taranto* 51 illustrates three Corinthian vases from this grave. See *NC.* 308 nos. 937–40.

[4] See *NC.* 314.

[5] See *NC.* 304 nos. 821 ff.

[6] Cups as *NC.* 311 nos. 975 ff.; ring-vase as *NC.* 313 nos. 1057 ff.; tripod pyxis, *NC.* 308 nos. 921 ff.; globular pyxis, *NC.* 307 nos. 895 ff.

[7] Aryballos, see *NC.* 304 no. 834.

[8] Mr. T. J. Dunbabin has kindly drawn my attention to a new kylix recently found at Taranto in a tomb-group, the contents of which are not yet published. The kylix is of 'Droop-cup' shape and is decorated with a goat closely resembling that on the Munich cup Sieveking-Hackl pl. 13, 385.

Borgata S. Gregorio (*N.Sc.* 1924, 101), and the lips of others (Museo Civico)[1].

Cumae. A kylix fragment, by the Arkesilas Painter (p. 140; *Mont. Ant.* xxii pl. 60, i).

Capua. The Brit. Mus. kylix B. 2 (p. 139 and PLATE 41 *c*).

Nola. The Polyphemos kylix (p. 151; *C.V.A. Bibl. Nat.* i pl. 22, 1, 4).

Etruria.

The majority of Lakonian vases in the big European collections are known to have come from Italy, though in few cases are the exact provenances recorded. Caere and Corneto were the great tomb-looting centres of the nineteenth century, and no doubt provided most of the Campana vases now in the Louvre; if a vase is reasonably complete it must have come from a tomb, and if from a tomb, the probability favours Etruria. Caere imported Lakonian ware at an early date, some fragments (now at Leipzig) being in the 'dot and square' Lakonian II style and probably belonging to the seventh century. From then on all stages of the fabric are represented except the dregs of Lakonian IV. Vulci [2] and Camino [3] are mentioned as provenances besides Caere and Corneto, and as the krateriskos in Philadelphia [4] is Lakonian, Orvieto must be added.[5]

Sicily.

Selinus. In the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros were found a Lakonian III lakaina, a curious kind of krateriskos (*Mon. Ant.* xxxii, 309–10 pl. xc, 1, 2), and a kylix fragment by the Hephaistos Painter (*ibid.* fig. 128, and p. 130 above). Cf. also the Addendum on p. 189.

France.

At Marseilles, the excavations under Fort St. Jean produced fragments of four kylikes, all of the ornate Lakonian III kind, belonging to the second quarter of the sixth century.[6]

THE 'KYRENE' HERESY.

The theme, 'Were these vases made at Sparta or at Kyrene?' has long been discussed. In summing up the evidence, Dugas admitted the case

[1] Rumpf *Chalk. Vas.* 44, refers to Lakonian fragments; there may be more than I saw in my very short visit.

[2] Vulci; the Brit. Mus. hydria B. 58 (see p. 146), and probably the Arkesilas cup, which was bought there.

[3] Camino (if this is in Etruria); see *J.d.I.* 1924, 31, note 3, Rider cup in Leningrad.

[4] See p. 135.

[5] Orbetello; see *A.Z.* 1881, 217 note 7. Not a Lakonian vase; cf. Kretschmer, *Griechische Vaseninschriften* 15.

[6] Vasseur, *Annales du musée d'histoire naturelle de Marseille* xiii, 1914, pl. xi.

for Sparta to be proved by the finds, but felt that the probabilities in favour of Kyrene were still strong, and that future excavation would justify the conclusion that similar wares were made in both places.

The essential preliminary for any such discussion is to establish a common factor present in all 'Lakonian' vases wherever found—a factor which proves their unity as a series and distinguishes them from any other kind of ware. What we need is provided by the nature of the clay and slip; this is quite distinctive, and Droop has shewn that the exported vases are made of the same clay and bear the same kind of slip that had been used in Lakonia from Geometric times onwards without a break.[2] Dugas accepted the evidence of the finds for a flourishing vase fabric at Sparta, and admitted their identity in style and technique with the exported vases hitherto classed as Kyrenaic. He dismissed as absurd the ideas that Sparta had no ships of her own, in which to export her wares, and that fragile vases would suffer (as Perrot[3] thought) from the land journey between Sparta and the sea at Gytheion. Why, then, admitting that some[4] of the exported vases must have been made at Sparta, did he refuse to grant a similar origin for the whole series?

The theory of a dual origin is based on two arguments; first, the strongly Kyrenaic character of some of the subjects depicted on the vases;[5] second, the more favourable position of Kyrene as a centre for their distribution to Naukratis, Samos, and the Eastern Aegean. Dugas evidently assumes that Lakonian artists would not choose subjects connected with Kyrene unless they were actually prescribed by the customers for whom the vases were being made, and that an order for such representations could only be given in a personal interview. Hence the potter must go to Kyrene to receive his instructions (bringing his clay with him!)[6] and make the vases on the spot. It is not unlikely that the Arkesilas Painter had actually visited Kyrene,[7] but surely he painted the portrait of Arkesilas from memory, and not at a special sitting given by the king and his servants for the purpose. Less local colour was necessary for the scene of Kyrene struggling with the lion—the subject had already been done in stone on the Kyrenaic treasury

[1] *R.A.* 1912, ii, 98 ff. [2] *A.O.* 52–4. [3] Perrot and Chipiez ix 513.

[4] Those from the Greek mainland, from Taranto, and from Italy.

[5] The Arkesilas cup, the Taranto cup F.R. iii p. 212, fig. 4; the alleged representation of Kyrene on the British Museum cup from Naukratis is less certain (see p. 165).

[6] Dugas' parallel of the modern practice in the Cyclades, where the potters of Siphnos go from one island to another taking their raw clay with them, is not a happy one. The islands are separate from each other only a few hours' voyage, whereas the distance from Gytheion to Kyrene is well over 300 miles, much of it open sea. Surely it would be cheaper and more convenient for customers to place their orders with the supercargo of the ship visiting Kyrene, and for the potter to make the vases at home in Sparta? In any case, if a Lakonian potter working in Lakonian style and using Lakonian clay makes a vase at Kyrene, the vase will be Lakonian and not Kyrenaic.

[7] See p. 161.

at Olympia, and the details of the Taranto cup were taken from Attic vases [1] which could be studied as easily at Sparta as in Africa. Moreover, one would not expect the potter to perform the long and expensive voyage to Kyrene and then go home as soon as his stock of clay was exhausted; he would settle down and order fresh clay by the next boat from Sparta. Meanwhile he would be open to all the new impressions which living among a mixed population of Cretans, islanders, and Africans might bring him, and inevitably these would affect his style. It is impossible to distinguish among the vases any group shewing signs of such exotic influence; most of the vases from Naukratis and Samos, for which Dugas postulates a Kyrenaic origin, belong to the first half of the sixth century and are dominated in figure and animal drawing by the Corinthian black-figure style. If subsequent excavation at Kyrene produces any quantity of Lakonian ware, we must expect a good deal of Corinthian as well, to explain the borrowings to which I have constantly referred in the course of this article. Finally, it is to be noted that of the two cups with certain Kyrenaic subjects, one was found at Taranto, and therefore, on Dugas' own shewing, is more likely to have come straight from Sparta than from Kyrene, and the other was probably found at Vulci, another place in the Spartan 'sphere of influence.'

With regard to Dugas' second argument, that Kyrene was in closer touch than Sparta with Naukratis and Samos: nothing is more likely than that the Lakonian vases found at Naukratis were taken there in Kyrenaic bottoms, but that does not prove that Kyrene acted any part beyond that of middleman.[2] With Samos, Sparta had relations before Kyrene was even founded; if Herodotus' story of Samian intervention in the Messenian war is untrustworthy, we have the evidence of a Lakonian vase-fragment, found at the Heraeum in Samos, which on stylistic grounds can hardly be later than 640 B.C. Subsequent political relations between Samos and Sparta are mentioned on p. 179 above; they are at least as impressive as the connection with Kyrene. Moreover, two bronzes of Lakonian style [3] were recently found in the island, one of them actually bearing the dedicatory inscription of Eumnastos, a Spartiate, and this might surely act as a written guarantee that the vases also came from Sparta.

Other arguments in favour of the Kyrenaic origin are trivial. One is, that Kyrene was a flourishing maritime city; all the Greek cities of similar status had a vase-fabric of their own, so Kyrene must have had one too. But for this, an accessible supply of clay is even more important than a position by the sea, and if she could find no suitable clay nearer than

[1] See p. 153.

[2] On Dugas' line of argument, we might assert that the Lakonian vases found in Etruria were made at Taranto instead of being merely distributed from there.

[3] Cf. p. 179 n. 1 above.

Sparta [1] (for all the vases to be attributed to her are made of Lakonian clay), the expense of maintaining her potteries must have been ruinous.

Professor Langlotz has expressed the view that our vases cannot be Lakonian because the figures on them do not resemble those of Lakonian sculpture (Würzburg *Katalog*, under no. 166). I cannot understand this, because one of the original reasons for suggesting a Lakonian origin for the vases, long antedating the excavations by the British School, was this very point of resemblance to grave monuments found in Lakonia.

Imitations of Lakonian Vases.

The ornament on most Lakonian vases is highly distinctive, but simple enough to be easily copied. Hence, during the sixth century, where these vases were freely imported, the local potters were often ready to borrow a motive which took their fancy, and to a lesser degree there is some adaptation of shapes. It will be best to deal severally with these imitations according to districts.

Samos. The chalice without handles, on a high foot,[2] does not occur in East Greece outside Samos, but in Lakonia varieties of the shape run well back into the seventh century.[3] One almost complete example was found in the Samian nekropolis,[4] and there are other fragments from the Heraeum; no doubt they supplied models for the local potters. Numerous kylix fragments of the Hephaistos Painter group were found, and the sherd on Plate 36 *e* comes from a Samian kylix which is a literal copy. The clay is certainly East-Greek, and there is no slip; inside are thin concentric fillets like those on Munich Catalogue pl. 17 no. 529. In this case the debt was mutual, for similar fillets appear on two cups by the Hephaistos Painter,[5] though there the vases are, as usual, slipped. In Aegina are fragments of a later East-Greek kylix with lotus buds like our Fig. 24, 11 springing from the handles, and pairs of rudely incised spirals at the base of each—a curious hybrid between palmette and lotus bud which will be more fully discussed by Dr. Kunze in his article on Ionian cups.[6] 'Fikellura' ware probably borrowed the pomegranate from Lakonian, and the phiale from the Heraeum (*A.M.* 1934 Beil. xi) evidently owes its winged figures and gorgoneion to Lakonian prototypes.[7]

[1] Clay was sometimes imported from Attica into East Greece, for making luxury vases like *A.M.* 1929, Beil. xix 1–3 (cf. *A.M.* 1934, 122); but Lakonian clay was of comparatively inferior quality, and Kyrene might have supplied herself better from Crete, which was nearer and where the clay was superior.

[2] Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. vi 1. Other unpublished examples at Vathy.

[3] See pp. 110, 117 and Plate 28 *b*, *c*, *e*.

[4] Boehlau *Nekropolen* pl. x, 7.

[5] P. 130 nos. 4, 8.

[6] Published since this was written in *A.M.* 1934, 97 Beil. vii 5.

[7] Compare the winged daemons on the Louvre banquet kylix, Plate 42 *b*.

Naukratis. Several kylikes by the Hephaistos Painter came from Naukratis,[1] a distinctive feature of their decoration being the fringe of pomegranates round the picture. A phiale fragment in Oxford [2] from the same site, of typically 'Naukratite' fabric, shews this fringe, and the external ornament runs to bands and rays quite unlike the usual system. In Berlin is a small Naukratite sherd (Fig. 26) evidently from the shoulder of a kylix; this also has the pomegranate fringe and what looks like the end of a handle-palmette on the exterior. The view now generally held is that the 'Naukratite' vases were made in Chios, and excavation has produced a certain amount of evidence to shew that this is so.[3] In any case Lakonian vases must have been known to the makers (as they would be if the factory were in Naukratis), and the Oxford sphinx-fragment may safely be dated with the cups it copies in the second decade of the sixth century.

Fig. 26.—'Naukratite' Fragment in Berlin.

South Italy. Taranto was naturally a centre for distribution, and in the Museum there are two vases of local fabric which seem to be imitations of Lakonian. One is rather like *A.O.* fig. 62, but sharper in outline, with ribbon handles, and varnished black. It was found with Middle Corinthian.[4] The other is a small krater from Valenzano (Bari), also black, *ca.* 20 cm. high. It is like Lakonian column kraters in shape but has ribbon handles: the lower part of the bowl is reserved. In the same grave were imitations of low East-Greek cups made of the same hard, yellow-ochre clay. A similar krater from Medma is in the Reggio Antiquarium, *ca.* 15 cm. high, and there is a whole series of miniature ones from Griso Labocetta in the Museo Civico, 4–6·5 cm. high. The clay varies from hard yellowish buff to soft orange-red.[5]

Etruria. The greatest proportion of exported Lakonian vases was found in Etruria, and they naturally contributed some ingredients towards what may be called the Etruscan pie. Hybrid cups, with Lakonian 'dot and square' on the lip, but pseudo-Corinthian birds in the handle-band,

[1] P. 130 nos. 6–9, 13.
[2] *C.V.A. Oxford* ii, II D, pl. 5, 33; *R.A.* 1907, i, pl. III and p. 407 fig. 19.
[3] To be published in the next volume of the *Annual*. See meanwhile *J.H.S.* 1934, 196.
[4] In Via d'Aquino, 1910. Ht. *ca.* 14 cm.
[5] See *N.Sc.* 1924, 101.

are Munich 614 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 30), Toronto *Catalogue* 185 (pl. 13) Vatican 139 (Albizzati pl. 13); compare the shape with that of the Taranto fish-bowls (our PLATE 31 *e*).

The Tomba dei Tori at Corneto has a bud and pomegranate frieze (already attributed to Lakonian influence),[1] and the pomegranate so common on the ' Pontic ' vases comes from the same source.[2] A krateriskos in Berlin[3] shews an incised handle-palmette taken from a kylix of the Rider Painter class (FIG. 24, 10) and most uncomfortably adapted to its position.

Ducati (*Pontische Vasen* 24) collects a group of 17 vases which shew strongly stylised forms, a preference for running animals, and a special penchant for birds. Their peculiarities he attributes to a ' Fortdauer von protokorinthschen Motiven,' but Protocorinthian was dead and buried eighty years before; the truth will be clear if we put Ducati's plates 11 *b*, 12 beside the Lakonian cup on our PLATE 45 *b*, or the other Rider cups in Leningrad and the Louvre. The tight drawing of the centaurs, and above all the swarms of birds used as filling ornament, are directly inspired by Lakonian vase-paintings.

There is a curious vase in Boston[4] which at first sight appears to be a close relation of the British Museum hydria, PLATE 43. The shape looks later, to judge from its tall and slender lines, the upward bend of the handles, and the gentle curve of the neck; the lip is round in profile instead of being square with metallic grooves, as on the British Museum vase.[5] The absence of a vertical handle from a pot so obviously designed for one strikes the first note of eccentricity, and I believe there is no other Greek vase which has slip on the handles when the body is left unslipped.[6] In secondary decoration the Boston amphora is close to British Museum B. 58, but the subjects of the main frieze are without parallel in Lakonian art. Compare the group of a lion felling a stag (PLATE 49 *c*) with PLATE 49 *a* and it will be obvious that they are both by the same hand, and no one would suspect the vase from which the latter is taken of being Lakonian.[7]

[1] Poulsen *Etruscan Tomb-Paintings* 9, and plate facing p. 7.

[2] Examples: Ducati *Pontische Vasen* pl. xvi *b*; Munich 1006 (Sieveking-Hackl pl. 44); Brit. Mus. B. 54; unpublished krateriskoi in the Louvre.

[3] *A.M.* 1920 pl. v 3.

[4] Boston 551, Fairbanks *Catalogue* pl. lxi. I am deeply obliged to Dr. L. D. Caskey for the photograph here reproduced, and for sending me notes on the vase.

[5] These details of shape are regular on Attic black-figure hydriai of the third quarter of the sixth century.

[6] Though the slip on the lip alone occurs on the Attic hydria Brit. Mus. B. 316, by the Antimenes Painter.

[7] Berlin 1885, *Führer* pl. 20. Foot lost and replaced by that of a low Attic b.f. eye-kylix (see Furtwängler in the Vase-Catalogue of 1886). Most of the decoration on the lower part of the vase and of the group on *B.C.H.* 1893, 434 had disappeared through damp, and was repainted by a cunning restorer; but all of the group on *Führer* pl. 20 is original, except the hind-quarters of the bull and the right-hand lion's feet, and our PLATE 49 *a* was taken after the vase had been cleaned. I have to thank Dr. Robert Zahn for assistance in studying this vase.

An additional proof that Boston 551 and Berlin 1885 came from the same workshop is given by the clay, which is in both cases very coarse, full of chalky lumps, and varying in colour from pale straw-yellow to dull purplish-brown.[1] The Berlin vase was recorded by Micali [2] as found at Tarquinia, but of the three drawings which purport to represent it only the first two actually do so, the third reproducing the vase in Boston. The assumption is that both were found at Tarquinia, and in working on them at the same time Micali's draughtsman confused the two. The group of a lion or panther felling another animal was extremely popular in Etruria about this time,[3] and the lion is of a type which can be definitely associated with East Greece, and not with the Peloponnese; notice particularly the pointed forelock, the folded and lowered ear, the forepaw splayed out on the victim's flank, and the treatment of the hind-quarters.[4] On the other side of the Boston vase is a monster with the body of a lion and the head of a wolf, an unhealthy creature which might naturally be conceived by an Etruscan mind. For the reasons given, I assign both Berlin 1885 and Boston 551 to an Etruscan potter working in the third quarter of the sixth century.

Since the above was put into type Mr. Payne has drawn my attention to yet a third example which stands beside the Boston and Berlin vases as an illegitimate descendant from the Lakonian hydria on PLATE 43. It is

[1] Berlin 1885 is covered with a thick orange slip, which, of course, never occurs in Lakonian pottery.

[2] *Storia* iii 172 pl. 98.

[3] Examples: Monteleone Chariot (Richter *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum* 22); Brit. Mus. *Catalogue of Silver Plate* pl. I; Petersen *R.M.* 1894, 312 fig. 18, and no. 61. The group was of eastern origin and perhaps reached Etruria in the form of Island gems (Furtwängler *Gemmen* pls. VI, 44, 51, 52; VII, 18, 25); it is also a favourite with the 'Chalkidian' potters—Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* pls. CXXIII–V, CCX, CCXIV. The question whether the 'Chalkidian' vases were made in Etruria is treated by H. R. W. Smith, *The Origin of Chalcidian Ware*, 1932, and Kraiker *Gnomon* 1934, 241. The lion and bull group is found on Protocorinthian (Payne *Protokorinthische Vasen* pl. 26, 1) in the seventh century, and on Attic monuments early in the sixth (Buschor *A.M.* 1922, 92 ff.), but the Attic type of lion is noticeably different from that here under consideration.

[4] The folded ear and pointed forelock or side-whisker is first found on Assyrian lions (*NC.* 68 fig. 14 A). It reappears in the small seated lions of limestone made in Cyprus and thence exported to Naukratis and Rhodes (*Fouilles de Lindos* ii pl. 77); these in turn are related to a group of bronze lions, of probable Etruscan origin, like that illustrated in Babelon *Catalogue des Bronze Antiques*, *Bibliothèque Nationale* 469 no. 1110 (another in Brit. Mus. no. 1752). In Etruria this type was susceptible to elaborate developments like Ducati *Storia dell' Arte Etrusco* pl. 107. A small, walking lion from the Athenian Akropolis (PLATE 49 *d*; de Ridder p. 172 no. 475) is certainly East-Greek; it should be compared with the seated lions and with that from a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Athens (PLATE 49 *b*). It is clear that the enormous shoulders, the domed foreheads and the dragging hind-feet of PLATE 49 *a*, *c* are nearer to these East-Greek lions than to any found on Lakonian vases; moreover, the saw-edged mane and the tufts of hair over the base of the tail are paralleled by lions on the Caeretan hydriai, which must have been made in Etruria (Berlin *Führer* pl. 18, and Morin-Jean fig. 105). Nor should the relationship with Ducati *Pontische Vasen* pl. 2 be overlooked.

an aryballos in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore (Fig. 27); again the 'turkeys' pass in staid procession, but now they have to contend with a hailstorm which has blown up unexpectedly from Corinth. The Etruscan who shaped and decorated this vase (he was already the inspired author of the vases in Berlin and Boston) indeed knew how to make the best of his archaic world. Here he has taken a common type of Corinthian aryballos

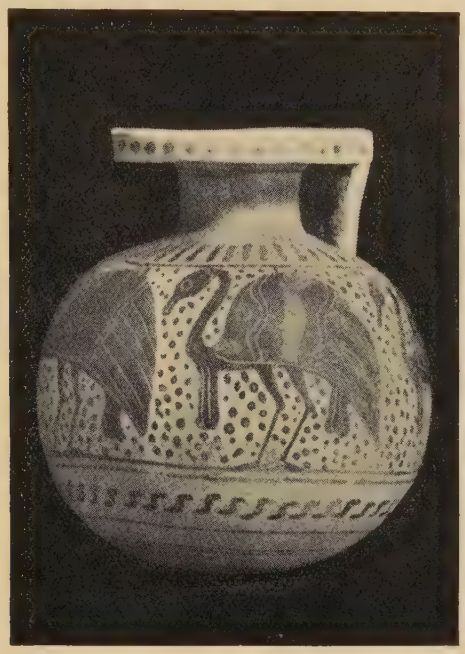

Fig. 27.—Etruscan Aryballos at Baltimore.

for his model in shape and secondary decoration, but instead of warriors with round shields, he has filled the frieze with outlandish birds copied from a Lakonian vase. Perhaps this vase was the identical hydria now in the British Museum. Is it too much to hope that some day the Greek original of the lion and stag group will also come to light?

E. A. Lane.

Addendum (cf. p. 182).

Mr. T. J. Dunbabin kindly informs me that there are Lakonian lakainai from Sicilian sites in the Syracuse Museum—two from Megara, grave 770 (as *A.O.* fig. 70 *b*), one from S. Mauro, and one formerly in the Mammano Collection at Centuripe. See also Mingazzini *I Vasi Castellani* 186 nos. 31–49, 51 (kraters); *N.C.* 204 (aryballoi). E. A. L.

PUBLICATION OF ANNUAL REPORT AND SUPPLEMENTARY MATTER

On December 17th, 1935, the Managing Committee resolved that the Annual Report and supplementary matter be no longer published in the *Annual*, but that the Annual Report be issued to all subscribers, together with a reprint of the article ' Archaeology in Greece ' annually written by the Director for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

INDEX

[*Note.*—Sites which have produced Fikellura and Lakonian pottery are not indexed, as they are listed on pp. 96–8, 178–82 above]

Achilles (?), on a Lakonian IV vase, 151
Aeolian pottery, 4–5, 38, 55, 62, 67 n. 3, 89
Amphiaraos krater, 8 n. 2
Amphorae, ' Rhodian,' 2 n. 1
  Fikellura, 4–37 *pass.*, 51–3
  Lakonian Transitional, 112, 114–15
Amphoriskoi, Fikellura, 23, 46–51, 58–60
  frequency in Rhodes, 48
Amyklae, Throne of Bathykles at, and chronology of Lakonian pottery, 157, 162
Animal-headed figures in Greek art, 24 n. 2
Animals, Fikellura, 60–64
  Fikellura ' Lion Group ', 7
  Lakonian, 168–70
  Lakonian I, 120–21
  Lakonian II, 127–8
  Lakonian III, 134, 136, 137
  See also under individual animals
Ant, Lakonian, 170
Anthemion, Lakonian, 159–60, 172 n. 4
Apollo (?), on a Lakonian IV vase, 153
Ares, *see* Hephaistos.
Argive pottery, 100, 101, 107, 110, 111
Arkesilas kylix, 131, 133, 140–41, 161–2, 169, 177, 182 n. 2
' Arkesilas Painter,' 129, 130, 140–41, 143, 152, 158 n. 3, 161–2, 174, 182, 183–4
Artemis, on a Lakonian III vase, 139, 167
Artemis Orthia, in Lakonian vase-painting, 165, 166–7
  Sanctuary of, when rebuilt, 134–5, 137, 166
Aryballoi, Lakonian Transitional, 112
  Lakonian III, 135–6, 138
  Lakonian Black polychrome, 155–6
  Lakonian, unspecified, 178, 180, 181, 189
  Etruscan, inspired by Lakonian drawing, 188–9
Athena, on a Lakonian III vase, 134
Atlas, in Lakonian vase-painting, 140, 165
Attic pottery, 18 n. 2, 24, 29, 30, 33, 36, 48, 61, 62 n. 10, 64, 67, 73, 74, 75 n. 2, 79, 81, 87, 89, 91, 96, 104, 109, 121, 132 n. 1, 144, 146, 147, 150, 151, 153, 154, 170, 176, 180, 187
  type of lion, 188 n. 3
  See also ' Droop-cup '

Banded decoration on Fikellura amphoriskoi, 51, 59
Banqueting scenes in Lakonian vase-painting, 139–40, 150, 153, 158–9
Bathykles, *see* Amyklae
Battle-scenes, in Lakonian vase-painting, 143, 159
Bell-krater, Lakonian I, 117
  Lakonian II, 125
  Lakonian III, 125, 143, 146
  Lakonian IV, 153
' Bird-bowls,' 70, 75
  Lakonian imitations of, 104, 115
Birds, Fikellura, 7, 8, 16, 22, 24, 25, 39, 41, 42, 45, 47, 64–5, 93–4
  Lakonian, 170
  Lakonian Late Geometric, 101–2
  Lakonian Transitional, 115
  Lakonian I, 120
  Lakonian II, 125, 127, 128, 150
  Lakonian III, 135, 146, 147, 149, 150
  Lakonian IV, 151
  See also under individual birds
Birds, plastic, on Lakonian Late Geometric vases, 104
Black polychrome ware, Lakonian, 154–6
Boar-hunt, in Lakonian vase-painting, 141, 157, 169 n. 4
Boars, Fikellura, etc., 5, 62, 65
  Lakonian, 134, 169
Boeotian imitation of Fikellura, 95–6

Boreads, Fikellura, 46, 64 n. 4, 66, 68, 74
Bowls, Lakonian Late Geometric, 104
closed, Lakonian IV, 154
handleless, Lakonian I, 116
open, Lakonian Transitional, 111–12
open, Lakonian I, 118
open, Lakonian II, 124, 125, 126
small, Lakonian Transitional, 107, 108
small, Lakonian I, 117
small, Lakonian III, 146
standed, Lakonian Late Geometric, 104
standed, Lakonian Transitional, 107
standed, Lakonian II, 122–4
Bronze Lakonian head-vase, 150 n. 4
hoplite, from Olympia, 159 n. 4
hoplite, from Samos, 179, 184
lion, from Samos, 179, 184
mirror, 151
mirror-support, from Samos, 179, 184
monkeys, 161, 169
Bucchero aryballoi, from Sparta, 155
oinochoe, with polychrome decoration, 57 n. 2, 77
Bucchero, imitations of, 56 n. 1, 57 n. 2
Bud frieze, in Lakonian, 173–4
Buds, in Fikellura, 21, 69, 74
Bulls, Fikellura, 5, 62, 65, 93–4
Lakonian, 169
Lakonian I, 120
Busiris (?), on a Fikellura vase, 19, 68

Cable-patterns, in Fikellura, 38, 71–2
Caeretan pottery, 8 n. 2, 41 n. 1, 67 n. 9, 146, 188 n. 4
Cap, conical, on Lakonian I figures, 121
Cat, Lakonian, 161
Cattle-raiding, on a Lakonian III vase, 144, 164–5
Centaurs, Fikellura, 61 n. 2
Lakonian, 147, 163
Centipede, Lakonian, 170
Chalice, Lakonian Transitional, 110
Lakonian I, 116, 117, 185
Lakonian II, 125
Lakonian III, 146
Chalkidian origin of Lakonian column-krater, 149
Chalkidian type of lion, 188 n. 3
Charioteers, Lakonian I, 121
Check pattern, Lakonian Transitional, 108, 112, 118
Chevrons, Fikellura, 75
Chimaera, Lakonian, 172
Circles, concentric, in Lakonian Late Geometric, 101, 105
Clay, Fikellura, 53
Lakonian, 108, 114, 115, 119, 149, 156, 183–5
export of, 183–5
See also White clay ware.
Cocks, Lakonian, 170
Lakonian II, 121
Lakonian III, 137, 147
types of, in Attic and E.-Greek art, 170 n. 6
Coiffure, in Fikellura, 67
Collars on dogs in vase-paintings, 5, 62 n. 10
Column-krater, Lakonian, 110, 149–50, 154, 178 n. 7, 179, 180, 181–2
Corinthian pottery, 33, 43, 61, 62 n. 10, 73, 78, 87, 88, 99–189 *pass.*
Couches, in Lakonian vase-painting, 158 n. 5
Cranes, Fikellura, 65, 96
Crescents, Fikellura, etc., 1–98 *pass.* (*especially* 7, 9, 25, 26, 73, 91), 153
Cretan imports in Lakonia, 119, 178
Lakonian pyxis wrongly classed as, 119
Cups, low, Lakonian I, 116
Lakonian IV, 153, 154
ring-footed, Fikellura, 44–6, 58
ring-footed, of E.-Greek make, 38, 46, 58, 69, 75, 90
small, Lakonian Late Geometric, 103–4
small, Lakonian II, 122
small, Attic, 104 n. 1
two-handled, Lakonian Transitional, 108
two-handled, Lakonian II, 122, 128, 180, 181, 187
See also Bowls, Kylikes
Cycladic imitations of Fikellura, 38–9
of 'Rhodian', 2 n. 1
Cypriote limestone lions, 188 n. 4

Daedalic heads, on Rhodian bell-krater, 126
in Lakonian I, 118
Daemons, winged, Lakonian, 153, 158–9, 167–8, 185
Dancers, Lakonian, 111, 134, 137, 153, 160–61
Daphnae, *see* Tell Defenneh
Deer, Fikellura, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 17, 22, 23, 25, 48, 63, 65, 93
Defenneh, *see* Tell Defenneh
Diagonal decoration, in Fikellura and 'Rhodian', 35–7, 48, 79
Dinoi, Lakonian III, 146–7

Dinos-stand, Lakonian II, 126
Dionysos, in Fikellura vase-painting, 47–8, 68, 96
in Lakonian, 130, 159, 168 (?)
Dishes, ' Rhodian ', 2 n. 1
Lakonian Late Geometric, 104
Lakonian II, 121
standed, Lakonian II, 127, *see also* Fruit-dish
Distribution of Fikellura, 85–9, 93–8
of Lakonian, 178–82
Dividing bands, Fikellura, 43, 46, 71
Dog-headed winged man, Fikellura, 19–20, 64 n. 4, 66, 68
Dogs, Fikellura, 5–8, 10, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 36, 62–3, 65, 95
Lakonian, 130, 169
See also Hounds
Dolphins, Fikellura, etc., 46, 64
Lakonian, 170
Lakonian II, 128
Dot-and-billet, Fikellura, 71, 75
Dot-and-square, Lakonian I, 113, 117
Lakonian II, 117, 126–7, 174
Lakonian III, 135, 137
on Lakonian column-kraters, 149
on Lakonian black polychrome aryballoi, 155 n. 2
Dot-rows, Lakonian Transitional, 112, 113, 117
Lakonian IV, 153
Lakonian Black polychrome, 156
' Droop-cups,' 129 n. 2, 141–3, 144 n. 2, 152, 180 n. 4, 181
Ducks, Fikellura, etc., 65
Lakonian, 158

Eagle, Lakonian, 170 n. 2
East-Greek contacts with Lakonian, 73, 74, 131, 144, 174, 185
East-Greek cups, 38, 46, 58, 69, 75, 90, 131
East-Greek lion type, 188 n. 4
Etruscan imitations of Lakonian, 146, 173, 186–9
Exergue, treatment of, in Lakonian kylikes, 133–4, 153, 163, 164, 176
Eyes, painted on Fikellura vases, 39, 42, 44, 54, 56, 58

' Feeder,' Lakonian II, 125
Figure style, of Lakonian Transitional, 113
of Lakonian I, 120–21
Figure-subjects, Fikellura, 60–68
Lakonian, 157–168
Fikellura pottery, 1–98, 181
place of manufacture, 3, 90–93
catalogue of extant pieces, 3–53, 93–6
Sub-Fikellura, 59–60
chronology of, 1–98 *pass.*, *especially* 86–93
imitations of, 95–6 (Boeotian), 38–9 (Cycladic)
vases wrongly classed as, 53
Filling-ornament, Fikellura, 15, 18, 69–70
Lakonian, 177
Fish, Lakonian, 170
Lakonian Transitional, 112
Lakonian II, 128
Lakonian III, 143
Flood at Sparta, *see under* Artemis Orthia, Temple of
Floral complexes, Lakonian, 129, 134, 136, 140, 144, 146, 151, 172, 175, 176–7
Fox-hunt, Lakonian III, 130, 158
Fox, Lakonian, 158, 169
François vase, 18 n. 1, 67, 148, 149
Free-field decoration, Fikellura, 19, 20–24, 29–30, 47–8, 57, 59, 79–81
Frog, Lakonian, 170
Fruit-dish, Lakonian II, 122–4, 127
Lakonian III, 131, 145, 152

Geometric pottery fabrics of the Peloponnese, 100
Goats, Fikellura, 5, 6, 8, 21, 22, 25, 42, 47, 63, 65
Lakonian, 169
Lakonian I, 120
Lakonian III, 143, 146
Lakonian IV, 181 n. 8
Middle and Late ' Rhodian', 5 n. 1, 60–61
Goblets, Lakonian I, 116
Lakonian II, 122
Lakonian III, 122, 130, 135
Gorgoneia, Fikellura, 46
East-Greek, 46 n. 1
Lakonian, 170–72
Lakonian II, 124, 127, 128
Lakonian III, 130, 131, 145, 146
Gorgoneion medallions, on Lakonian II vases, 126
Griffin-bird, Lakonian, 140, 172
Griffins, Fikellura and ' Rhodian ', 10, 64, 65, 93–5
Lakonian, 172

Handle-ornaments, Fikellura, 82–4
Handle-palmette, Lakonian, 129, 131–3, 137, 139, 143, 144, 151
Hares, Fikellura, 5–8, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 36, 52, 63, 95
Hare-headed man, Fikellura, 20, 23, 24, 68
Hare-hunt, Lakonian, 157–8
  Lakonian I, 121
  Lakonian III, 130
Hat, conical, on Arkesilas vase, etc., 161
Head-vases, Lakonian, 156
Helmet, types of, in Lakonian, 159
Hen, in Lakonian III, 137
Hephaistos and Dionysos, on a Lakonian III vase, 130
Hephaistos, Return of (?), on a Fikellura vase, 47–8
'Hephaistos Painter' (Lakonian III), 122, 128, 130–34, 135, 136, 137–9, 144, 148, 163, 169, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186
Herakles and the hydra, in Lakonian, 131, 163
Herakles, in Lakonian vase-painting, 130, 147, 163–4
Hermes, on a Lakonian III vase, 141
Heron, Lakonian, 170 n. 2
Horses, Lakonian, 169
  Lakonian I, 117, 120
  Lakonian III, 131, 145, 147, 148
  Lakonian IV, 150
Horses, winged, Lakonian, 120, 139, 168, 169, 172
Hounds, Lakonian I, 121
  Lakonian II–III, 122–3, 157
Human figures, Fikellura, 15, 17, 18–24, 40, 41, 66–8
  Lakonian, 157–68
  Lakonian Transitional, 113
  Lakonian I, 121
'Hunt Painter' (Lakonian III–IV), 129 n. 2, 130, 139, 141–3, 144, 146, 147, 151, 157 n. 5, 160 n. 6, 162, 166
Hunters' return, in Lakonian, 158
Hunting scenes, *see* Boar-hunt, Fox-hunt, Hare-hunt
Hydra, in Lakonian III, 131, 143
Hydria, Fikellura, 13, 51
  Lakonian Late Geometric, 105
  Lakonian Transitional, 110 (?), 114–15
  Lakonian I, 119
  Lakonian III, 143, 146, 148, 188–9
Imitations of Fikellura, 38–9, 95–6
  of Lakonian, 135, 185–9, *see also* 'Droop-cups'
  of 'Rhodian', 2 n. 1
Incised palmettes, in Lakonian, 156, 187
Incision, only instance in Fikellura, 46, 54
  in 'Rhodian' and Naukratite, 2 n. 1, 91
  in Lakonian imitations of Protocorinthian aryballoi, 112
  absence from Lakonian I, 115, 121
  in Lakonian II, 121, 122, 127–8
  in Lakonian III–IV, 133, 134, 137, 140, 141, 147, 156, 173
Inscriptions, on Fikellura vases, 5, 28, 38, 43, 44, 45, 51, 91 and n. 3
  on Lakonian vases, 143, 162, 163, 166
  on a Lakonian bronze lion from Samos, 179, 184
Insects, Lakonian, 170
Iolaos and hydra, on a Lakonian III vase, 143, 163
Ionian black-figure cups, 3, 7, 36, 46 n. 1, 60, 62, 65, 67, 71, 74, 79, 88, 91, 185
Ionian (?) vase-painter at Sparta, 147
Italian imitations of Lakonian, 186
Ivy leaf, in Fikellura, 52, 74
Ivy wreath, in Lakonian, 174

Kalathos, Lakonian Late Geometric, 104
  Lakonian Transitional, 110, 112
Kantharos, *see* Pseudo-Kantharos
Klazomenian pottery, 40, 41, 43, 48, 55–6, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68 n. 3, 70 n. 1, 73, 74, 78, 79, 87, 91, 188 n. 4
Komos, in Fikellura, 14–19, 46, 68, 95–6
  in Lakonian, 131, 141, 143, 146, 147, 150, 160–61
Krater, Lakonian Transitional, 110
  Lakonian II, 125
  Lakonian III, 137 n. 3, 147, 148
  Lakonian, unspecified, 189
  See also Bell-krater, Column-krater, Volute-krater
Krateriskos, Lakonian Transitional, 110
  Lakonian II, 110 n. 6
  Lakonian III, 135, 139 n. 4, 182
Kylix, Lakonian III, 130–34, 137–44, 178 nn. 1, 4, 180, 181, 182, 185
  Lakonian IV, 150–54, 178 n. 8, 180, 181
  Lakonian, scheme of decoration, 131, 133–4, 139, 143, 153, 157, 159, 162–3, 164, 166, 168, 177

Kyrene, supposed share in production of Lakonian pottery, 157 n. 5, 161–2, 182–5
Kyrene, the nymph, in Lakonian vase-painting, 153, 165, 183

Lakaina, Lakonian Late Geometric, 102–3
Lakonian Transitional, 107, 108, 109, 114
Lakonian I, 116, 121
Lakonian II, 116, 122, 127, 180, 181
Lakonian III, 130, 134–5, 137, 140 n. 2, 144, 159
Lakonian IV, 153
Lakonian, unspecified, 189
Attic and Boeotian, 102 n. 2
Lakonian pottery, 32, 61, 62 n. 10, 64 n. 7, 67 n. 9, 73, 74, 88, 91, 99–189
Late Geometric, 100–107, 112–13, 115, 178
' Unslipped linear ' class, 105, 107, 115
Transitional, 104, 107–16, 118
Lakonian I, 115–21, 179
Lakonian II, 121–8, 180, 182
Lakonian III, 128–50, 179, 180
Lakonian IV, 150–54
Lakonian V–VI, 154
Black polychrome style, 154–6
chronology, 99–189 *pass.*, *especially* 101, 115, 121–2, 128–30, 134–5, 140, 149–50, 178–82
place of manufacture, 157 n. 5, 161–2, 182–5
imitations of, 135, 185–9, *see also under* ' Droop-cups '.
vases wrongly classed as, 32, 43, 180 n. 4, 181, 182 n. 5
Lamps, Lakonian I, 118
Leaf-rows, in Lakonian IV, 153
Lids, Fikellura, 12
Lakonian Late Geometric, 104
Lakonian I, 119
Lakonian II, 124, 127
Lakonian III, 147
Lion, types of, in archaic Greek art, 188
Lions, Fikellura, 4–7, 61, 65, 93–4
Lakonian, 168–9
Lakonian I, 120–21
Lakonian II, 127
Lakonian III, 148
Lion's head, plastic, on Lakonian III vases, 145
Lion-hunt, absence of in Lakonian, 157
Literacy of Lakonian vase-painters, 143 n. 2, 162, 163
Lizards, Lakonian, 161, 169
Lotus buds, Lakonian III, 148
Lotus flowers and buds, Fikellura, 9–10, 69, 75–8
Lotus frieze, Lakonian III, 129
Lotus ornament, Lakonian, 175–6
Lotus and palmette, Lakonian, 156, 176–7
Lydian (?) imitation of Lakonian, 135
Lykian (?) inscription on a Fikellura vase, 51

Meander patterns, Fikellura, 10, 71, 72–3
Lakonian, 101–3, 110
' Melian,' possible influence of on Lakonian, 119, 121
' Melian ' type of gorgoneion, 171
Metal-work, influence of on Lakonian pottery, 112, 113, 117, 122, 125, 126, 132–3, 136, 145, 146, 149, 174
Mill-sail pattern, Lakonian I, 117
Miniature vases, Lakonian, 154–6
Misattributions of vases, to Fikellura style, 53
to Lakonian style, 32, 43, 180 n. 4, 181, 182 n. 5
Monkey, in Lakonian art, 161, 169
Mouse, in Lakonian II, 126
Mug, two-handled, Lakonian Late Geometric, 103
Myrtle wreath, in Fikellura, 14, 74
in Lakonian, 131, 137, 144, 146, 174
Mythical creatures, in Lakonian, 170–72
Mythological subjects, in Lakonian, 162–8

Naukratis, absence of stratification at, 86 n. 2
' Naukratis Painter ' (Lakonian III), 139–40, 143, 167, 174
' Naukratite ' pottery, 2 n. 1, 18 n. 3, 53, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66–7, 68 n. 3, 71, 72, 73, 77, 86 n. 2, 89, 133, 186
' Naukratite ' imitations of Lakonian, 186

Oinochoe, ' Rhodian ', 2 n. 1
Fikellura, 4 (?), 9 (?), 11 (?), 13 (?), 35 (?), 36, 37, 38, 39–44, 52, 53, 57–8
Lakonian Late Geometric, 104
Lakonian Transitional, 108–9, 112, 113
Lakonian I, 118, 121
Lakonian II, 125, 127
Lakonian III, 136 (?), 140, 144–5
Lakonian IV, 153–4
Lakonian Black polychrome, 154–5
Olpe, Fikellura, 6, 55
Lakonian I, 116
Lakonian II, 122

Olpe, Lakonian III, 146
other fabrics, 55
Ornament of Fikellura pottery, 69–84
of Lakonian, 172–7
Orthia, *see* Artemis Orthia
Owl, Lakonian, 170 n. 2

Paint, of Fikellura pottery, 53–4
of Lakonian, 105, 107, 108, 116, 133, 150, 151, 153, 154–6
See also Purple paint, White paint
Painting of Fikellura pottery, 54, 60
of Lakonian III vases, 129
Palmette, enclosed, in Fikellura, 73–4
Palmette, handle-, in Lakonian, 129, 131–3, 137, 139, 143, 144, 151
Palmette, in Lakonian, 130, 147, 174–5, 176
in Lakonian I, 119
in Lakonian II, 126
Panther, Fikellura, 5, 6, 61–2, 65
Lakonian, 144, 169
Panther-bird, Lakonian II, 127, 172
Partridges, Fikellura, etc., 9, 19, 42, 45, 64–5
Partridge-vase, Lakonian, 156, 170 n. 2
Pegasos, in Lakonian, 139
'Pegasos Painter' (Lakonian III), 139, 141, 144
Perseus plate, 60, 63 n. 2, 67
Phiale mesomphalos, Lakonian II, 124
Philoktetes, in Lakonian, 164
Pickaback, on a Fikellura vase, 14–15, 67
Pigmies, in Fikellura, 18, 24 n. 1, 68
'Pilgrim flask', Lakonian Black polychrome, 155
Plaques with Gorgoneion, in terracotta and ivory, Lakonian, 171–2
Plastic birds, on Lakonian Late Geometric vases, 104
gorgoneia, Lakonian, 171–2
heads, on Lakonian III vases, 135, 136
ornament, on Lakonian I vases, 118
ornament, on Lakonian II vases, 126
ornament, on Lakonian III vases, 145, 146
palmettes, Lakonian, 136, 174
snakes, *see* Snakes, plastic
vases, Lakonian, 156
See also Relief pithoi.
Plates, 'Rhodian', 2 n. 1, 60–61
Lakonian Transitional, 110, 117
Lakonian I, 117
Lakonian II, 125
Plates, Lakonian III, 145–6
Lakonian IV, 153
Protocorinthian, 110
See also Perseus plate
Poloi, terracotta, Lakonian II and Boeotian, 125, 126
representations of, in Lakonian, 134 n. 1, 172 n. 4
Polyphemos, in Lakonian vase-painting, 151, 164
Pomegranate frieze, Lakonian III, 129, 136, 144, 145, 187
Pomegranate fringe, Lakonian III, 133, 186
Pomegranate ornament, Fikellura, 23, 74, 91, 185
Lakonian, 74, 91, 108, 136, 144, 151, 172–3, 185
Pomegranate row, Lakonian I, 119
Melian, 119
Protocorinthian, 119
Lakonian II, 126
Pontic pottery, 61, 65, 187, 188 n. 4
Ποτνία θηρῶν, in E.-Greek vase-painting, 6. n. 1
See also Artemis Orthia
Pottery, *see under separate fabrics*
Processional friezes, Lakonian, 159
Prometheus, in Lakonian vase-painting, 140, 165
Protocorinthian contacts with Lakonian, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105–8, 110, 112, 116, 118, 119, 121, 171, 176, 188 n. 3
Lakonian imitations of, 112
Protomes, human, in Lakonian I, 121
Provenances, of Fikellura vases, 85, 86–9, 96–8
of Lakonian vases, 178–82
'Pseudo-kantharos,' Lakonian II, 126, 135, 181
Purple paint, in Fikellura, 4–10 *pass.*, 16–22 *pass.*, 27, 33, 37–54 *pass.*, 65–73 *pass.*, 81, 93, 94, 95
in Lakonian, 105, 117, 127, 128, 133, 134, 136, 142 n. 2, 144, 145, 153–6 *pass.*, 161, 170, 173, 174, 175
Pyxis, Lakonian Late Geometric, 104–5
Lakonian Transitional, 107, 108, 112
Lakonian I, 119
Lakonian II, 126

Rays, Fikellura, 75
Lakonian Transitional, 108, 113, 114
Lakonian I, 117, 119

Rays, Lakonian II, 126
Lakonian III, 144, 145, 149
Relief-pithoi, Lakonian, 143
Reticulated ornament, Fikellura, 35–6, 48–51, 59, 79
'Rhodian' pottery, 1–98 *pass.* (*especially* 2–3, 90–93), 113, 126, 171
Ribbon pattern, Fikellura, 43, 75
'Rider Painter' (Lakonian III–IV), 143, 151 n. 2, 153, 159–60, 167, 169, 174, 177, 187
Riders, on Lakonian vases, 150, 151, 159–60
Ring-vase, Lakonian Late Geometric, 105
Lakonian Transitional, 105 n. 5
Lakonian III, 147, 156
Rosette, stalked, Fikellura, 38, 43–4, 75
Rosettes, Lakonian Transitional, 110
Lakonian I, 119
Lakonian II, 125, 126, 127
Lakonian III, 143, 145, 177
Lakonian IV, 153
Lakonian Black polychrome, 156
Middle Corinthian, 127
Rotelles, Lakonian III, 145
'Running dog' ornament, Fikellura, 71, 72
Lakonian Late Geometric, 102, 104
Lakonian Transitional, 107, 108 n. 5, 110, 113
Lakonian I, 117, 119
See also Cable-patterns

'Sacred Tree,' In Lakonian, 120
Samian imitations of Lakonian, 131, 135, 185
Samian pottery, 1, 91–2, 113
Samos, relations with Sparta, 131, 146, 153, 177, 179, 184
Satyrs, Fikellura, 18, 19, 68, 96
'Sauce-boat' (?), Lakonian I, 117
Scale-pattern, Fikellura, 10–11, 39–42, 78–9
Lakonian, 147
Seals, Lakonian, with gorgoneia, 170–71
Seals, used to stamp pottery, 126
Shield-aprons, in vase-paintings, 48
Sigma pattern, Lakonian III, 137, 149
Silens, Corinthian, 137 n. 3
Silphium not represented on the Arkesilas vase, 161
Sirens, Lakonian, 141–2, 158–9, 172
Situlae, 61, 65, 87
Skyphos, Lakonian I, 116
Slip, use and disuse of, in Fikellura, 21, 53, 59
in 'Rhodian', 2 n. 1, 53, 91
Slip, in Lakonian Late Geometric, 104, 105
in Lakonian Transitional, 107, 108, 112, 114, 115
in Lakonian I, 116, 117, 121 n. 2
in Lakonian III, 128, 133, 135 n. 4, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142 n. 2, 143, 144, 146, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 175, 179, 185
in Lakonian IV, 151, 153
Σλιφόμαχος, derivation of, 162
Smyrna, character of pottery found at, 89 n. 4
Snail, Lakonian, 170
Snakes, Lakonian Transitional, 108
Lakonian II and III, 128, 134, 164
See also under Gorgoneia
Snakes, plastic, Lakonian Transitional, 109
Lakonian III, 145
Sparta, relations with Kyrene, 184
with Samos, 131, 146, 153, 177, 179, 184
Sphinx, Fikellura, 9–12, 42, 63, 64, 65, 93–5
Lakonian, 127, 144, 147, 150–51, 172
Spouted vases, Lakonian II–III, 125
'Square and circle' design, Lakonian I, 117–18
Lakonian II, 126
Lakonian III, 145
Lakonian IV, 153
Standed dish, *see* Fruit stand
Stands, Lakonian Transitional, 112
Lakonian I, 118
Lakonian II, 126
Star patterns, Fikellura, 43, 78
Stork, in Lakonian, 161, 170 n. 2
Stratopeda, position of, 87 n. 3
Sub-Fikellura, 59–60
Swans, Fikellura, 21
Swastika, Lakonian, 177 n. 4

Tangent-circle, in Lakonian Transitional, 113
Technique of Fikellura, 53–4, 60
Tegea, pottery from, 100, 105, 111, 178
Tell Defenneh, identification with Daphnae, 87 n. 3
Terracottas, Lakonian white clay, 115 n. 2
See also Head-vases, Plaques, Plastic birds, Plastic gorgoneia, Plastic heads, Plastic ornament, Plastic palmettes, Plastic vases, Poloi, Relief pithoi, Snakes, plastic
Tholos (?) on a Lakonian vase, 165–6
Tomb-reliefs, Lakonian, 126, 159, 163, 185
Tongues, Fikellura, 74–5

Tongues, Lakonian I, 110, 117, 119
Lakonian III, 145, 146
Tortoise, Lakonian II, 126
'Totenmahl' explanation of scenes on Lakonian vases, 158–9, 167–8
Tree, Lakonian III, 149
See also 'Sacred Tree'
Tripod-pyxis, Lakonian III, 147
Troilos, ambush of, on Lakonian vases, 147, 164
Trophonios (?), on a Lakonian vase, 165–6
Typhon, in Lakonian vase-painting, 172

Varnish, *see* Paint
Vases depicted in vase-paintings, 14, 16, 18, 68, 81 n. 3, 95, 118, 158 n. 5, 177 n. 6
Vegetable ornament, Lakonian, 172–7
Lakonian III, 129
Volute-krater, Lakonian III, 146, 147, 148–9, 150, 178, 179
Volutes, in Fikellura, 26–35, 79–82, 84

Warriors, on Lakonian vases, 131, 141, 143, 159
Whirligig, in vase-paintings, 73
White clay ware, Lakonian, 114, 115
White paint, in Fikellura, 6, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 54, 58
in Lakonian, 110, 113, 120, 127, 145, 147, 149, 153, 154, 156
Winged figures, Lakonian III, 139–40, 167 n. 3
See also Boreads, Daemons, winged, Dog-headed winged man, Horses, winged
Wool, packing of, on the Arkesilas Kylix, 161

Zeus, in Lakonian, 141, 166
Zig-zags, in Fikellura, 9, 31, 52, 55 n. 5, 56, 75, 79
Zone decoration, in Fikellura, 4–20 *pass.*, 24–35 *pass.*, 42, 43, 46, 47, 57, 58, 59

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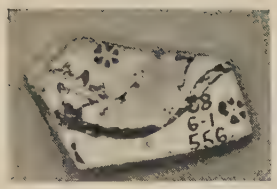
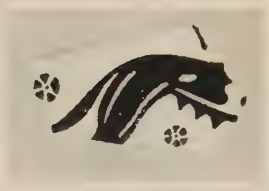


a

b



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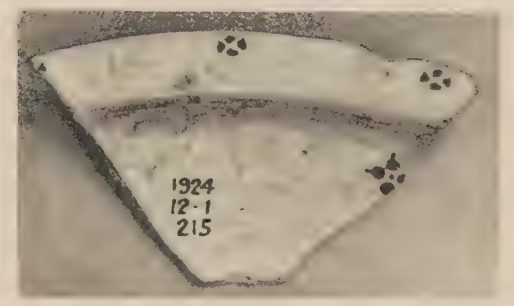


e

f

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a–c. W 6 (British Museum 88.6–1.556). *d–e.* W 1 (British Museum 1924.12.–1.215). *f.* B 1 (British Museum B 118). Scale (of *a–e*) 1 : 1.

a

b

c

PLATE 2.

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a. B 2 (British Museum B 119). *b*, *c*. B 1 (British Museum B 118). Scale (of *b*, *c*) about 6 : 7.

b

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a, *b*. B 2 (British Museum B 119), detail.

a

b

c

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a, *b*. B 16 (Corinth CP 872). *c*. C 1 (British Museum B 117).

PLATE 4.

a

b

FIKELLURA POTTERY.
a, *b*. J 1 (Altenburg 191).

PLATE 5.

a

b

FIKELLURA POTTERY.
a, *b*. J 1 (Altenburg 191).

PLATE 6.

a

b

Fikellura Pottery.

a. J 6 (British Museum B 120). *b*. J 12 (British Museum A 1313).

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a. H 1 (Cambridge N 94–6). *b*. H 4 (Alexandria 9526). *c*. K 5 (Boston 321.15). *d*. S 8 (Smyrna 469). *e*. K 1 (Leningrad Inv. 15848).
Scale about 1 : 1.

PLATE 8.

Fikellura Pottery.
K 2 (Prof. Rubensohn, Berlin). Scale about 7 : 8.

FIKELLURA POTTERY (exc. *a–b*).

a–b. Flautist Dinos (cf. p. 53). *c.* B 7. *d.* K 7. *e.* K 8. Scale about 1 : 1.

a

b

c

FIKELLURA POTTERY (exc. *b*).

a. L 1 (British Museum A 1311). Scale about 1 : 2.
b. Vineyard Cup (Louvre F 68), cf. p. 3. Scale about 1 : 1.
c. J 1 (Altenburg 191). Scale about 5 : 6.

a

b

c

d

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a–d. Y 12 (Rhodes 12396). Scale about 4 : 5.

Fikellura Pottery.
L 2 (Graf Anton Lanckoronski, Vienna).

a *b*

c

FIKELLURA POTTERY

a. F 2 (British Museum A 1323). *b*. A 1 (Samos, Vathy). *c*. T 4 (British Museum A 1322 (?) and Leipzig). Scale about 3 : 4.

a

b

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a, G 1 (Berlin Inv. 2943). *b*, Y 13 (Athens 10816).

PLATE 15.

a

b, *c*

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

a. R 1 (B.M. A 693) *b*. T 6 (Oxford 1925 608b). Scale about 6 : 7. *c*. U 3 (B.M. 86.4–1.1040). Scale about 3 : 7.

PLATE 16.

FIKELLURA POTTERY.

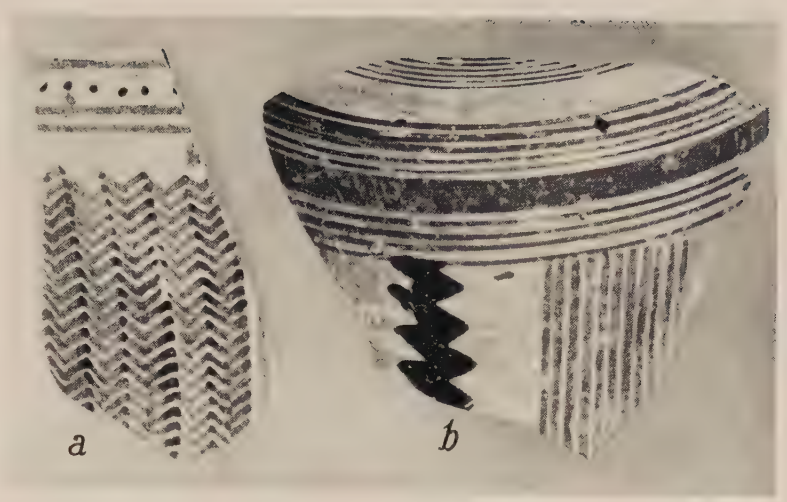
a. T 5. *b*. U 1. *c*. S 10. *d*. P 17. *e*. Munich frag. (cf. p. 55). *f*. C 3. *g*. S 9.
Scale of *a–c*, 1 : 1; of *d–e*, 2 : 3.

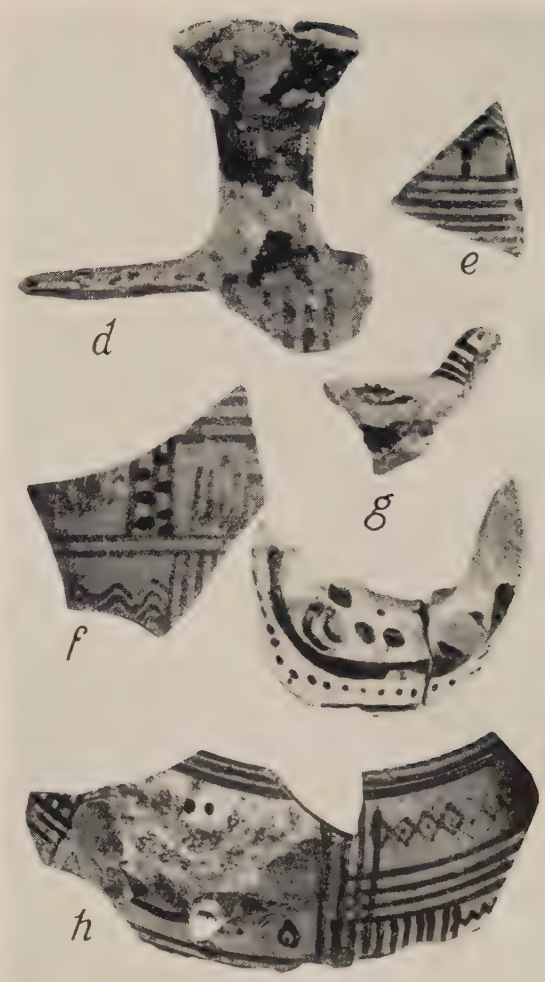
a, *b*. British Museum A 691 (cf. p. 57).

Berlin F 3917 (cf. p. 60).

Lakonian Pottery : Late Geometric (pp. 102–5).

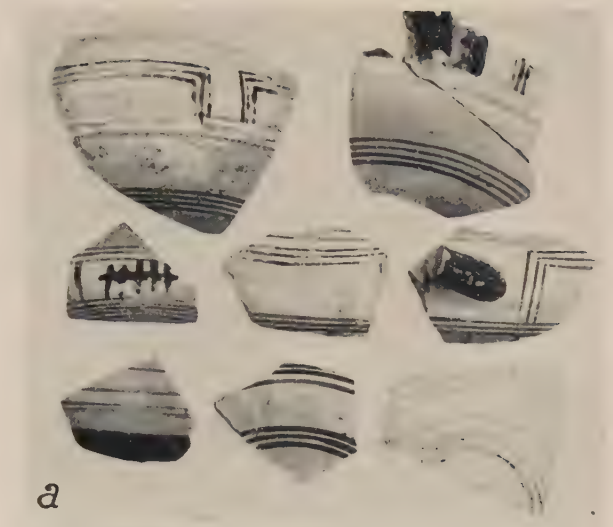
PLATE 20.





Lakonian Pottery : Late Geometric (pp. 102–7).

PLATE 21.



LAKONIAN POTTERY : TRANSITIONAL (pp. 110, 114).

PLATE 22.

Lakonian Pottery : Transitional and Lakonian I Orientalising (pp. 111, 112, 118, 119, 121).

Lakonian Pottery : Transitional and Lakonian I (pp. 108–13, 117, 118).

PLATE 24.

Lakonian Pottery : Lakonian I Orientalising (pp. 112, 113, 118–21).

PLATE 25.

a

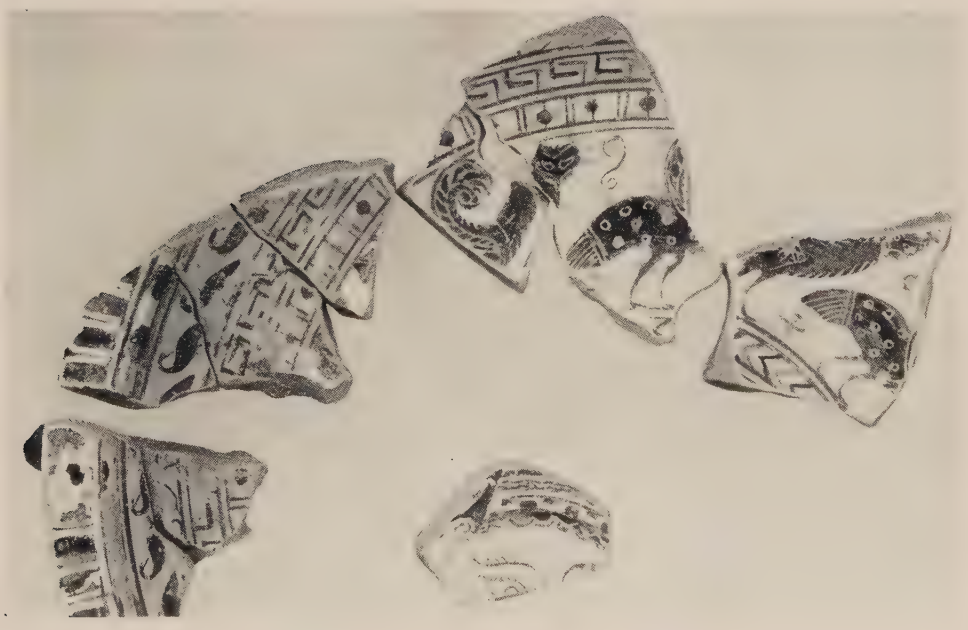
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN I (*a–c*, *f*), II (*e*) AND III (*d*) (pp. 117, 119–21, 145, n. 2).

Lakonian Pottery : Lakonian I and II (pp. 117, 121, 127).

PLATE 27.

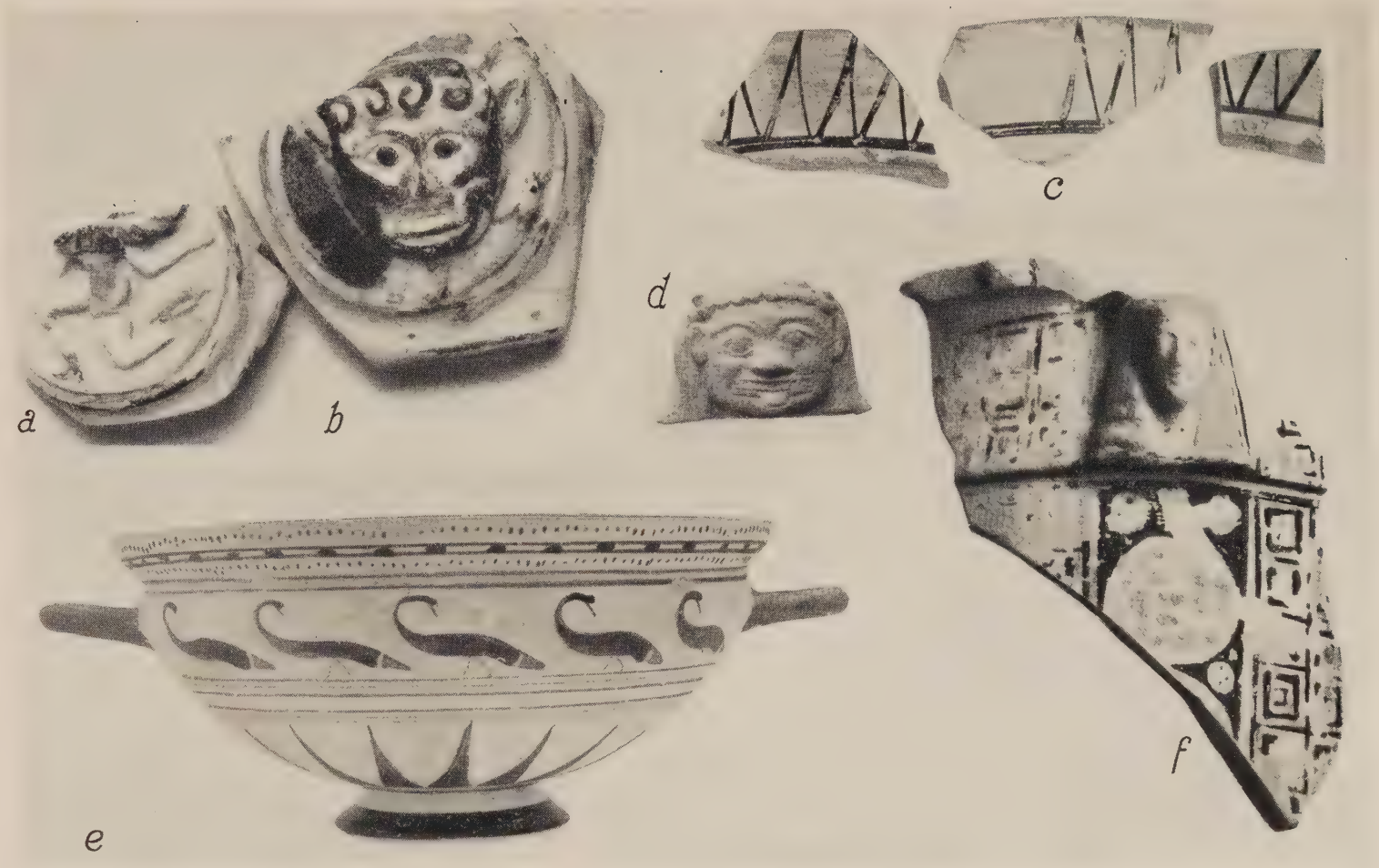
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN I AND II (*a*, p. 116; *b*, p. 117; *c*, p. 125; *d*, p. 127; *e*, p. 116).

PLATE 28.



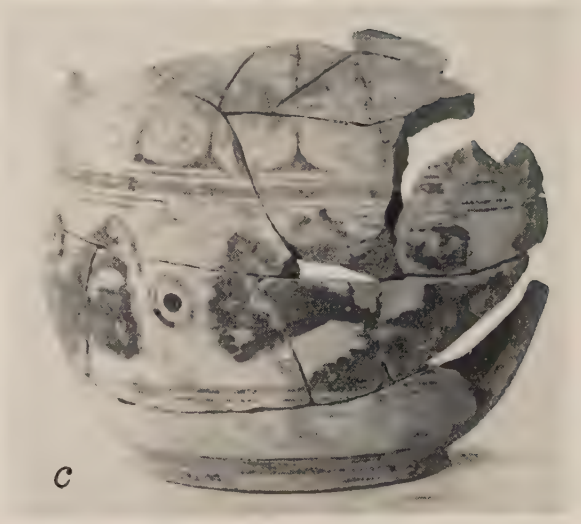
LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II FRUIT-DISH (p. 122).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II BOWLS AT TARANTO
(pp. 122, 128, 181).



Lakonian Pottery : Lakonian I Orientalising and Lakonian II.

a, *b*, *d* at Sparta (pp. 126, 171); *c*, from Naukratis (p. 122, n. 2); *e*, at Taranto (pp. 122, 128, 181); *f*, at Sparta (p. 118).



Lakonian Pottery : Lakonian II and III (*a*, pp. 124, 128; *b*, p. 122; *c*, p. 125).

Lakonian Pottery : Lakonian II and III (*a–b* at Gytheion, *c–h* at Sparta; pp. 118, 124, 145, 156).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II AND III (*a* at Taranto, pp. 126, 181 ; *b* at Leipzig : *c* at Oxford, pp. 131, 163).

PLATE 34.

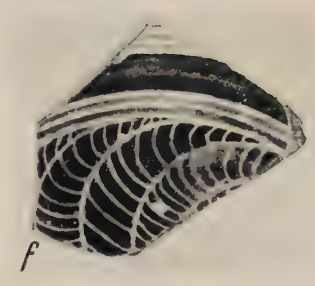


PLATE 35.

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a*, Paris; *b*, *f*, London, p. 130; *c*–*e*, Sparta, p. 156).

PLATE 36.

LAKONIAN III AND EAST-GREEK FRAGMENTS.

(*a*, *b*, *d* at Samos, p. 130; *c*, in London, p. 130; *e*, at Samos, p. 185; *f*, at Samos, p. 131; *g*, in London, p. 131.)

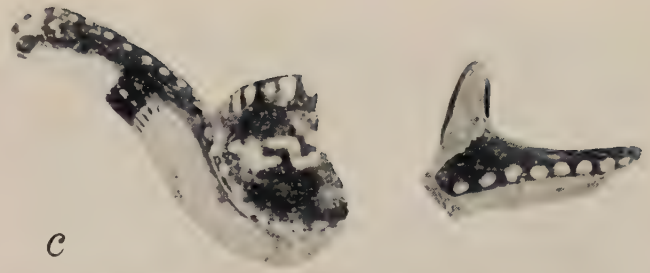
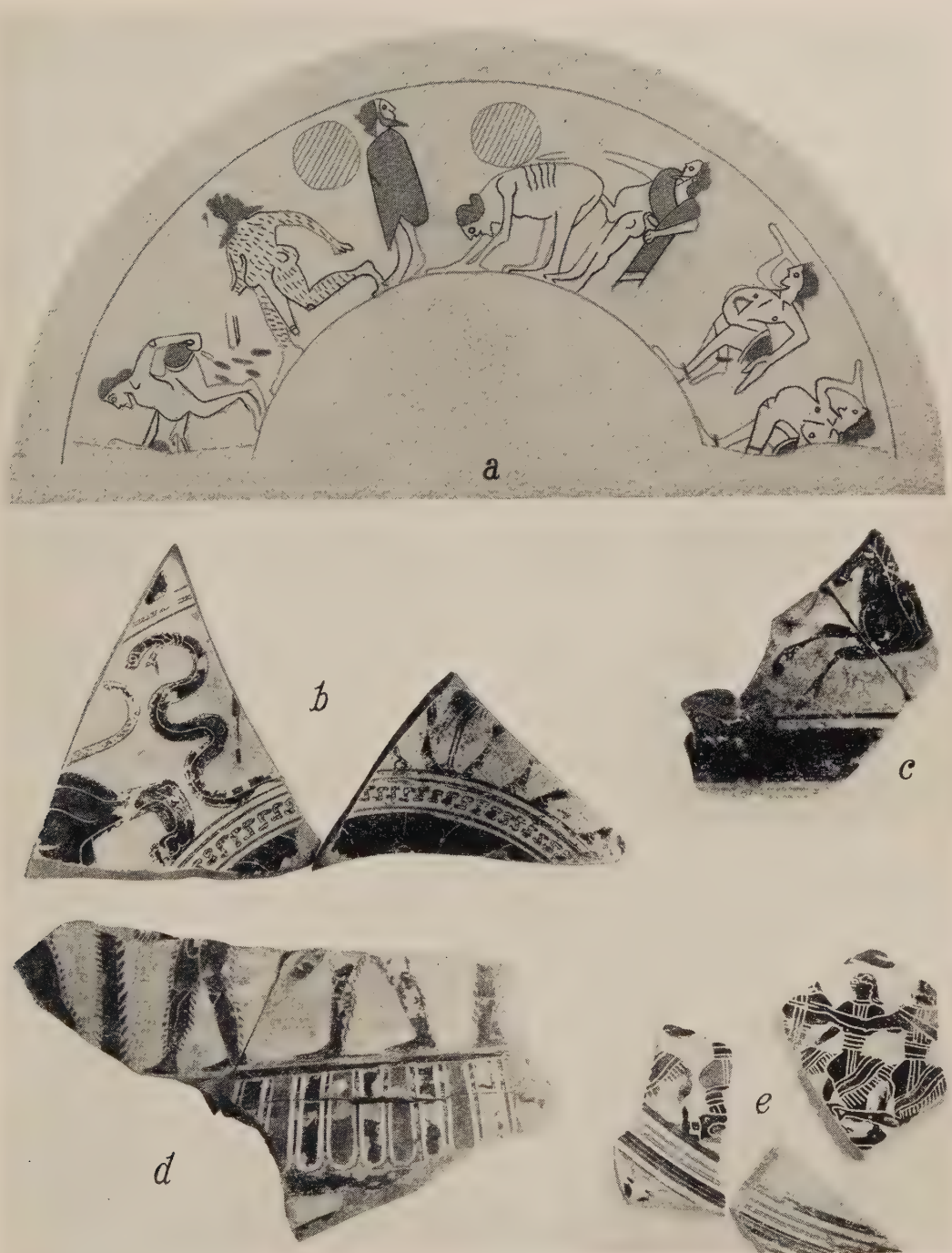


PLATE 37.

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN II AND III (*a*, in London, pp. 131, 171; *b*, at Taranto, p. 137; *c*, at Sparta, p. 156).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a*, *c–f*, *h* at Sparta; *b* from Perachora; *g* in London; pp. 144, 147–8, 168, 172).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a–d* at Sparta, *e* at Samos; pp. 137, 145, 148).

LAKONIAN POTTERY: LAKONIAN III KYLIX AT SPARTA (pp. 137, 160).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III AND IV (*a* in Paris, p. 141 ; *b* at Sparta, p. 144 ; *c* in London, p. 139 ; *d* at Sparta, p. 141 ; *e* at Sparta, p. 169).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a*, Dinos in Paris, pp. 146, 164; *b*, Kylix in Paris, pp. 139, 158).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III HYDRIA IN LONDON (pp. 146, 187).

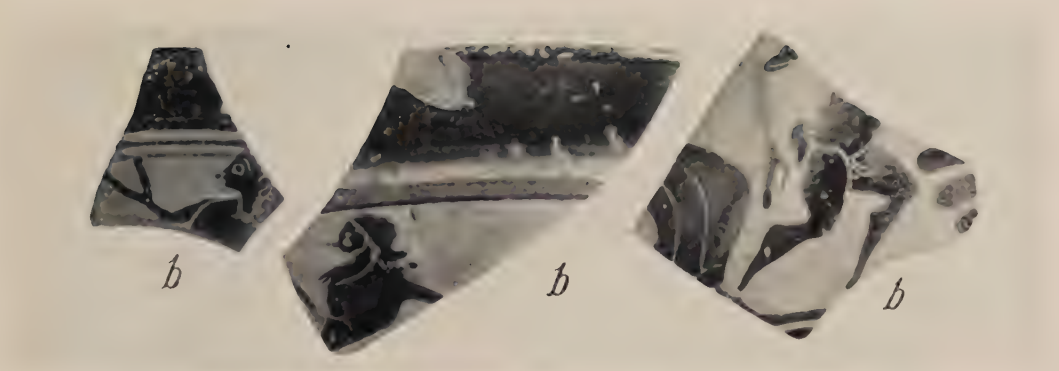
PLATE 44.

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN III (*a*, *b*, details of Plate 43; *c* in Paris, p. 144).

LAKONIAN IV POTTERY AND STATUETTE (*a* in New York; *b* in London, pp. 150, 151, 167; *c* in Berlin, p. 151).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN IV (*a*, in London, pp. 150, 160; *b* in Kassel, pp. 153, 166).

LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN IV KYLIX AT TARANTO (pp. 152, 161).



LAKONIAN POTTERY : LAKONIAN IV (*a* at Taranto, pp. 152, 161 ; *b* at Sparta, p. 154).

Lion Types (pp. 187–8).

a, Detail of Etruscan Amphora in Berlin; *b*, Detail of Clazomenian Sarcophagus in Athens; *c*, Detail of Etruscan Amphora in Boston; *d*, Bronze Lion from the Akropolis at Athens.

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